

The MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

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FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

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MISSOURI VERSE AND VERSE-WRITERS

BY M. M. BRASHEAR

PART I

Is Missouri developing a literary tradition? The long roll of her authors would indicate that she is. Such writers as Mark Twain, Eugene Field, Winston Churchill, Sara Teasdale, Fannie Hurst, Zoe Akins, Mrs. Constance Faunt LeRoy Runcie, Jessie Gaynor, Harris Merton Lyon, Rupert Hughes, Augustus Thomas, Denton J. Snider,—and these are only some of her foremost literary men—merit the serious consideration of Missouri's literary claims. The compilations on Missouri authors would also indicate that Missouri is developing a literary tradition. The work of Mr. J. S. Snoddy on Missouri verse, the extensive Missouri author bibliography compiled by Mr. F. A. Sampson, the compilation by Drs. R. H. Jesse and Edward A. Allen, the excellent Missouri author work by Dr. Alexander N. DeMenil, and the present interpretative work by Miss Brashear furnish further evidence of this fact. And again, the literary movements and "schools" in Missouri give a significant sidelight. The famed St. Louis philosophical movement of the '60s and '70s, the Reedy "school" of the later 19th and the early 20th century, the work of The Missouri Writers Guild since its organization in 1915, and present and prospective development of this subject in the English department of the University of Missouri would seem to indicate something permanent and traditional in the field of Missouri letters. To aid in advancing this phase of work the readers of the Review are requested to cooperate. If persons knowing of published verse that has not received recognition in Miss Brashear's study will inform The State Historical Society of its existence, the work will be facilitated. Missourians should welcome this opportunity to make complete a phase of their cultural life which has been interesting and valuable. One of Missouri's greatest assets may prove to be her literature.—The Editor.

The first part of this discussion will be something of a survey of verse written in Missouri before 1900, chiefly of that which was published in books. The second part will deal with verse published since 1900. Part Three will venture some conclusions.

It is not easy to determine what a Missouri writer is. Even birth and education in the state often leaves a case somewhat doubtful. Kate Chopin was born in St. Louis, was educated there, and died there. But she spent her married life in Louisiana, where she wrote important stories about the bayou folk. Those stories are of greater significance in the literature of Louisiana than of Missouri. Sara Teasdale is a resident of New York City, but such is the detached character of her verse that, inasmuch as she spent thirty-two years of her life in the state, it may be assumed that her Missouri training at least did not discourage her genius. It is more difficult, naturally, to fix the status of writers in Missouri who have come from outside her borders. One author of recent best-sellers has written his novels in Columbia, and has seemed, in one of them, to describe professorial life at the University, but it would savor of presumption to call him a Missouri novelist. Maude Radford Warren lived in the state five years; she would doubtless be surprised to find herself advertised as a Missouri writer. But it is not quite fair to ourselves to shut out all but native writers. An examination of the Directory published by the Writer's Guild in 1923 leads to the inference that there are almost as many degrees of Missouri author as there are writers. The term is not yet so nearly definable as Indiana author.

In general this paper has included amongst Missouri authors those who were born in the State, or whose work shows some influence of Missouri training or Missouri spirit.

What Missouri spirit is will be indicated chiefly by implication. Perhaps, as a Washington's birthday speaker said of Americanism, it is not a definable thing; if it is a living thing, development and change in its trend are inevitable.

The data for this study have been secured from the collection of works of early verse-writers in the library of

The State Historical Society of Missouri. They are examined, not in order to determine what Missouri has contributed to the World's Book of Classics, but to ascertain what, up to 1900, it had accomplished in verse that broke ground for writers of the future. The attempt has been merely to record what beginnings had been made in verse-writing. If the commonwealth develops poets of its own they must rise on the shoulders of those who have gone before them. Even if the immediate inspiration come from the outside, it cannot grow unless the atmosphere for its nurture is favorable. So it is worth while to discover what centers in the state developed traditions potent to cultivate writers.

The case of St. Joseph is an example of what may be expected from such centers. Its favorable situation on and near main lines of travel Westward caused it to acquire wealth and to have an atmosphere of culture by the last half of the nineteenth century. As a result a good many people were writing verse there as early as the Civil War period. That St. Joseph is now the "Poet's Corner" that one writer calls it is due largely to those early beginnings. Jessie L. Gaynor, the writer of children's songs of national reputation, and Mary Alicia Owen, an international authority on folk-lore, are among those who have "carried on" in that corner.

In 1873 Edwin Arthur Welty, a young man just out of the St. Joseph High School (the second high school in the state it was), wrote a ballad entitled, "The Trapper at Bay," which was published in an Eastern magazine in 1876. When in 1896 it was published in a volume of ballads¹ by the same author an enthusiastic Eastern critic spoke of him as "undeniably the greatest purely ballad writer in America—one who has seemingly been willing to allow literary ability of a pronounced and decided order to *rust within the confines of a little Southern village*".² Mr. Welty lived most of his life a short distance north of St. Joseph at Oregon, Missouri. The earliest is rather the best ballad in the collection. It

¹*Ballads of the Bisouac and the Border*, Buffalo, 1896.

²Introduction by W. W. West, Philadelphia.

represents an Indian telling the story of how he with a band of warriors attacked two trappers. When one was killed the other took refuge at the mouth of the cave, which was their rendezvous. The old Indian apparently had strange power of speech:

I was under fierce old Red-knife at the crossing of the Loop,
When that brave and gallant warrior fought Kit Carson and his troop;

All these scenes of blood and carnage I would gladly meet again,
Sooner than to face that trapper in his ghastly mountain den.

More convincing evidence that St. Joseph had become a literary center by the last quarter of the nineteenth century is to be found in *Poems, Dramatic and Lyric* by Constance Faunt LeRoy Runcie.³ The introductory poem, *Two Gifts—Poetry and Song* promises well for the lyric quality of the volume:

A star came falling from the sky, |
I caught the lovely thing;
It was a song sent from on high
Flashed from an angel's wing.
• • • • •
Who sang—who wrote—I do not know,
Nor how they lost their way;
I only caught them to my heart,
And whispered to them "stay."

The inference may be warrantable that it was pioneer conditions that brought Mrs. Runcie to such a realization of what living means as "If I may" indicates:

Part First.

I will not take the joy that brings a sorrow,
If I may
Put both away,
I will not learn to love a smile, a voice,
If glance and tone,
Once mine alone,
Shall in some hour lose all their strongest power.

³Published by G. P. Putnam's, New York, 1888.

I will not choose that in my life may come
 The deep unrest,
 Tho' it were blest
 With joy; for I would wish my soul should be
 As if asleep,
 If God will keep
 Me safe within His holy arms, and let
 Me never know
 The bitter woe
 Of what it means to say—"I must forget."

Part Second.

Yes! I will welcome all, nor will refuse,
 Or joy or pain,
 If I may gain,
 Through all the changing light and deepening shade,
 One step nearer,
 One hope dearer,
 That out of all my soul may rise the purer,
 And find the path,
 Which ever hath
 Brought, them, who suffer, on their way the surer."⁴

Mrs. Runcie is not an unworthy predecessor of Sara Teasdale. If the following lines from "First Love" have not the later writer's singing quality, they have a sentiment like hers:

O Youth! O love! O soul!
 Never again to be the same! Hast thou
 Laid this thy gift, thy gift unspeakable,
 Here at my feet? For this, O friend, I thank thee,
 Thou crownst me queen indeed; I am more fair
 Because I wear the jewel of thy first love.
 I will arise and purify myself,
 Will kneel and say unto my God: "My Father,
 Hold, hold me closer to thy heart, for I
 Would learn of Thee how I may keep
 This noble treasure of a first great love."

About the time of the Civil War, Lafayette county developed as another literary center. Central College at Lexington was a popular seminary with a literary atmosphere before the Civil War. Elizabeth Cobb, who was educated there, cele-

⁴From "If I May," p. 52 in *Poems, Dramatic and Lyric*. See also J. S. Snoddy: *A Little Book of Missouri Verse*, pp. 78 and 190.

brated the natural attractions of Missouri in a poem "A Star in the West," dated 1856.⁵ Mrs. Sarah Austin Arnold McCausland, born at Arnoldsfels, Virginia, related to Dr. Thomas Arnold of Rugby, was married in Lexington in 1860 and spent the rest of her life there. She describes a Missouri August as the time when the year is taking its siesta:

.....the quivering heat-haze
Through whose shimmer the brown quail wades,
A-list to the moist corn voices
Speaking from wind-moved blades⁶
.....
O slumbrous month, thou art prone and a-dream.

Walter A. McCausland, born in Lafayette county in 1859, and educated in Lexington, describes a Missouri winter:

The clouds hang low in the winter sky,
The beasts in the barn-yard low and cry,
The cold wind sighs through the dead, brown leaves,
The ice hangs thick from gable and eaves.⁷

Will Ward Mitchell⁸ of Higginsville, Lafayette county, published in the early 90's a volume of verse entitled *Harry Lisle and Other Rhymes*. In the preface he says, "should this little book of mine wander out into the great world, I hope that it will not reflect discredit on my loved home town, or her sister city, my birthplace, fair old Lexington, beside the great Missouri. . . . I have found the world better than many claim it is, and people kindly, brave, and true. . . . I have little sympathy with pessimists. Hope is a handy thing to keep about the chambers of the heart." His most important verses celebrate friendship between men. Of the friend to whom they are dedicated he says:

A gentle, winsome man was he
.....his voice was blithe
And musical. I used to while
Delightful hours with Harry Lisle.

⁵J. S. Snoddy, *A Little Book of Missouri Verse*, pp. 17 and 178.

⁶*Ibid* pp. 104 and 186.

⁷*Ibid* pp. 23 and 186.

⁸Mitchell, Will Ward: *Harry B. Leary; A Life Picture*, 1895; *Harry Lisle and Other Rhymes*, n. d.; *Jael and Other Rhymes*, Higginsville, Mo., 1898; *Voice That is Still*, Higginsville.

At Richmond, in a county adjoining Lafayette, Woodson Institute seems to have fostered a literary atmosphere. M. L. Hoffman, a teacher of mathematics there published in a volume entitled *St. Helena and Other Poems*⁹ a tribute to Missouri. In the closing lines he says that she:

.....stands in her place,
And with confidence turns to the future her face;
And the circle of states, as they watch her move on
With her head in the day, like a mountain at dawn,
Her motto will catch, and respond to her call,—
"United we stand, divided we fall."

In 1897 J. S. Snoddy, a teacher of literature at Woodson Institute, published *A Little Book of Missouri Verse*. In the "Editor's Note" he says that the book grew out of studies that his students were making in Missouri verse. In Plattsburg in the same part of the state John William Ellis, President of Plattsburg College, published, in the 80's and 90's, three booklets of verse.¹⁰ In the same college J. Breckenridge Ellis, for several years head of the Department of English, has been writing novels and verse since the early 90's. In "Another Birthday" published in the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, he says:

A few more years,—a few more years,
My past will lie behind;
Sweet in the shroud of purest hopes,
Dear to my inmost mind.
I think 'twill haunt my after life,
That spirit young and bold,
Taking me back to the long ago,
Ere I was growing old.

At Platte City, also near St. Joseph, William A. Paxton,¹¹ a lawyer in the town from 1839 until his death, collected a library of Missouri authors, himself an author of three volumes

⁹Privately Printed, 1896.

¹⁰Ellis, J. W.: *Life Mission*, St. Louis, 1876; *Metrical Translation of the Antigone of Sophocles*, St. Louis, 1872; *Song of Songs*, Columbia, 1897.

¹¹Paxton, Wm. M.: *Century Hence and Other Poems*, Kansas City, 1879; *Poems*, Kansas City, 1887; *Vision of Narva; A Legend of Parkville*, Buffalo, N. Y., 1891.

of verse. That he was possessed of prophetic temper is indicated in the *Vision of Narva* in which he sees the white race developing strength by mixing with the red. The chief Narva dying says:

The union of the White and Indian,
Will make a new and nobler race;
And back to us, the great and worthy
With pride, their pedigree shall trace.

In "Woman's Sphere" he declares:

Men give her no voice in enacting the laws,
But tax her as much as they choose;
And then as the jurors they sit in her cause,
And frequently justice refuse.

A series of twenty-nine tributes to the departed, in the same volume, he entitles "Platte City Cemetery." Of J. V. Cockrill he says:

I knew him when in manhood's pride,
And always found him just and brave.
I stood beside him when he died
And helped to lay him in the grave.

He was a man of sterling sense
And managed well his house and farm;
Was slow to give or take offense,
And to his friends was kind and warm.

The point of view is opposite from that in the *Spoon River Anthology*, which was probably intended to satirize such "poetry." Both reflect natural stages in the development of the Middle West. The former is nearer to the pioneer time when sturdy citizens spent their lives in wholesome physical activity. They had but little time to question the existing order. That order was not the best, but they whose fathers were responsible for it knew that it was no small achievement compared with wilderness conditions. They found comfort in safe and stable ideas and ideals. The Spoon River book represents the restless period of assured prosperity, when the want of a physical task commensurate with

their mental and spiritual vigor turned the energy of the sons into a brooding, ingrowing pessimism.

The town of Chillicothe has had an interesting literary history. Two young men from Livingston county, who afterwards became lawyers in the county-seat published pamphlets of college verse while they were students at the University. George W. Warder, who is remembered by the older citizens of Columbia as a student during the Civil War, in *Poetic Fragments or College Poems*, (1873) records his impressions of fair ladies and of the charms of poesy. Such lines as these indicate that he conned his classics well:

The mind of youth, enchanted by the golden-tinted
 Sunrise spreading o'er the ever-blooming fields,
 And gilded prospects of the coming years and
 The boundless universe beyond, seems startled at
 The wide elastic sweep of its own mystic powers
 And like the proud eagle, that bathes his plumage
 In the bursting dawn, and cleaves with fearless
 Wing the radiant pathway of the burning sun,

 It seeks to rise, to struggle up to broader views
 And brighter skies, and leave the dull reality
 Of real life and sordid cares behind.
 This causes poetry.

Mr. Warder was later mayor of Kansas City and founder of the Warder Opera House. He published there two thick volumes of verse, *Utopian Dreams and Lotus Leaves*, 1885, and *Eden Dell and Other Poems*, 1878.

L. A. Martin, while he was in the University in 1887, wrote *Huxter Puck, His Epic*, the story of a Missouri boy of the middle of the Nineteenth Century, born in Livingston county. In the Preface he says:

For why should not Missouri be the land
 Of inspired song or happy minstrelsy,
 When every heart is but a smouldering brand
 Of burning passion, throbbing wild and free
 To burst in song, and breathe with words of fire
 A strain immortal from her unstruck lyre.

During his life as a lawyer in Chillicothe Mr. Martin published numerous pamphlets of verse, since bound together in a large volume by The State Historical Society. He records his impressions of current happenings and of the natural charms of rural central Missouri.¹² About the same time Johnson and Kiergan of Chillicothe published for Marie Richter Nelson her poem *Elleine, a Leaf from a Life of To-day*.

Lulu Spears Dearing's volume *Lost Chords* is the record of an eager soul:

Oh that we had not ambitions
If 'tis not to be satisfied;
This straining to attain
To our ideal——
——we but know we're human,
Endowed, it seems, with a power
To endure, that is infinite.¹³

And the muse visited not only towns of central western Missouri, but the country also. *Rural Rhymes* is a large volume of verse published in Kansas City in 1882 by Martin Rice. As a lad the author had learned his grammar in Lindley Murray and taught school in Tennessee. In 1833 he came to Jackson county where he was a farmer for the rest of his days. In the Preface he declared it to be his purpose to "give an account of the manners and customs of the western men and women of fifty years ago, and to contrast the old times with the present ones. Among his rhymes are "An Old Settler's Tale," "The Old Minister's Reminiscences," "The Old Captain of 1838 and the Roll-Call," "The Exodus of Eighteen Sixty-three or Order Number Eleven" (22pp.) The following lines are taken from a fourteen-page "poem" on the evils of drink, "when women tipple too:"

¹²Martin, L. A.: *Halloe'en and Other Poems*, Chillicothe, Mo., 1893; *Huxter Puck and Other Poems*, Chillicothe, Mo., 1895.

¹³Dearing, Lulu Spears, *Lost Chords*, Chillicothe, 1900; The Sampson Bibliography of Missouri Authors lists also; Cope, Samuel: *Songs of Praise*, Chillicothe, Mo., 1894.

Oh fair Columbia, while the sword
 Of Britain's high, imperious lord
 In vain would slay thy pride,
 Shall liquid stuff, more powerful
 Than all the horns of Johnny Bull
 The fruits of all our freedom pull,
 And scatter far and wide?

It is interesting to note in this how near to those people in pioneer Missouri was the sense of the menace that the war of 1812 allayed. The type of conventional morality that satisfied the practical life of early pioneers is reflected on every page; it is the tone of the pioneer who has settled down to enjoy the fruits of his labors.

In the northern part of the state Kirksville was early a center of literary life. The oldest Normal School west of the Mississippi, except one in St. Louis, now the Northeast Missouri State Teachers' College, fostered intellectual zeal from the 60's. J. M. Greenwood of Kansas City, well known in the United States for his writings on educational subjects, and John R. Kirk, now president of the institution, were two of a group of vigorous thinkers under President Baldwin, the founder of the school. In the 80's under President J. P. Blanton, himself a Virginian possessed of excellent taste, an atmosphere of being at ease in the world fostered literary production. President Blanton lectured all over Northeast Missouri, urging people to cultivate the reading habit, and reciting Burns to them. Miss Mary Prewitt of Fayette,¹⁴ a teacher of literature in the "Normal," married an attorney in the town, and later edited a magazine which she called *The Norns*, which encouraged the ambition of verse-writers in the vicinity. Mary Prewitt Doneghy herself during her life wrote verse of some distinction. It was published in magazines, though some of the best of it merely circulated among her friends. Of the grave she wrote:

What art thou, Grave? a sea
 Between my love and me?
 Thy waves though high and deep,
 Not us apart can keep.

¹⁴See Snoddy, pp. 137 and 179.

What art thou, Grave? a veil
 Thrown o'er Love's face grown pale?
 Thy folds the spirit stirs
 And half reveals, half blurs.

What art thou, Grave? a box
 That o'er our treasure locks?
 Our Lord Christ holds the key
 Will open it for me.

She had an ear for reports that her senses brought to her
 of what was lovely in nature:

Ay, my blue-bird sing to me!
 Other lovers long have ceased,
 Valentines come not my way,
 For my hair is turning gray
 And the wrinkles have increased
 Ay, my blue-bird, sing to me!

Ay, my blue-bird, sing to me
 For thy song hath witchery;
 Bring back long stray thoughts of youth,
 Binding broken troth with truth,
 Mending life right happily
 Ay, my blue-bird, sing to me.

After Mrs. Doneghy was an old woman she was young
 enough in spirit to be delighted with the possibilities of the
 new verse. The following lines to youth were inspired by
 Thorwaldsen's "Youth and Age:"

Step not so arrogantly
 Not thine
 To have and hold
 Young wife and babe,
 Pleasure,
 Spoils,
 Love.
 Time only lends them—
 She takes them one by one
 Out of thy grasp,
 And life shall be
 A grape
 Shriveled in the drought
 With odor clinging
 Of the red wine.

Mrs. Doneghey's assistant editor on *The Norns* was Grace Hewitt Sharp,¹⁵ the daughter of a pioneer Presbyterian minister, whose verses have had considerable magazine publication. Her verses have a wistful sincerity:

"Life is beautiful, life is dear!"
The maiden said in the spring of the year
When the hawthorn blooms and the plumbtree's white,
And the heart, with hope, beats warm and light.

"Life is a burden, life is gloom"
The woman thought in her lonely room;
Nor love, nor rest had cheered her way,
But sacrifice had marked each day.

The maid saw clouds pass over the sun,
And love found the woman ere life was done.
For sorrow and joy must strive forever;
No heart holds all; they blend together.

Troy in Lincoln county seems to have offered some encouragement to writers. Childers and Townsend there published in 1895 a volume for George E. Trescott which he entitled *Chirps*. It sets forth homely wisdom in somewhat the manner of Poor Richard's Almanac:

Woulds't thou be useful, learn the charm
Of doing good by shunning harm.
Blest is the man whose pathway gleams
A fitting mean between extremes.

In the wicked I've found virtue,
In the righteous I've found sin;
If I had this world to judge o'er
Where, oh where should I begin?

Hattie E. Battson, born near Troy in 1865, received her preparatory education at Edward's High School, Troy; and graduated at St. Charles College, St. Charles, Missouri. She published a book of verse, *Dust or Diamonds*, in 1886,¹⁶ "Aglaia," a poem in two cantos, blank verse, suggests Enoch

¹⁵See Snoddy, pp. 114, 134, 154 and 190.

¹⁶Snoddy, pp. 110 and 177.

Arden. Aglaia's husband, De Lancy, having eloped with Nelly Bird, Aglaia, dying of sorrow, gives her girl baby to an old suitor, who tells the story.

That ladies' problems were not different forty years ago from those today is indicated in "An Old Maid's Soliloquy" in the same volume, dated 1880:

Do maidens there
With anxious care
Use peroxide to bleach their hair;
With lips of red vermilion
Are trained to smile
Or pout the while,
And the unthinking to beguile,
While lisping of the red cotillion?

Do young men smoke,
Talk slang and joke,
And young mustaches fondly stroke?¹⁷

In Columbia the University and the Stephens Publishing Company, together with a high type of southern idealism in its old families, early fostered the gentler arts. In 1901 President Jesse and Dr. Edward Archibald Allen, head of the English Department, published there an anthology of Missouri literature, prose and verse. Dr. Allen was possessed of a discriminating taste and a charming sense of humor. He published verse in various magazines. The following is taken from *The Critic*:

Concerning heretics you make
An argument too hard;
They were suspended from a stake,
Not only from a chair.

Dissenters from the standards then
The pious churchmen roasted;
Today by milder mannered men
You know, they're only toasted.

If then an age of stern Belief
Did such like deeds beget,
The age of Doubt, despite your grief,
May make us Christians yet.

¹⁷*Dust and Diamonds*, p. 77, Dayton, Ohio, 1886.

His "Prayer for Charity" was published in *The Chautauquan*:

Open our eyes, O Lord! We do not see
The languid step, the sunken cheek that cries
For food that satisfies, the silent plea
For sympathy. O Lord, open our eyes!

Open our ears, O Lord! We do not hear
The stifled sigh, foreboding sobs and tears
Of childhood orphaned by strong drink, the fear
That haunts in sleep. O Lord, open our ears!

Open our hands, O Lord! We close them tight
In greed of selfish gain of houses, lands,
Against the widows' call for help, the right
Of the oppressed. O Lord, open our hands!

Open our minds, O Lord! We do not read
The thoughts of God aright; the truth that binds
Us back to Thee we miss, lost in a creed
That men devise. O Lord, open our minds!

Open our hearts, O Lord! We do not feel
For others' woes; the priest within us parts
Us from the fallen on life's way—reveal
Again thy Christ! O Lord open our hearts!*

Mrs. Clara Ward Watson and Mrs. Rosa Ingels published pamphlets of verse in the 90's. But student verse has always made a large part of Columbia's output. The following is in strange contrast with that modern verse published in the 1923 volume:

A little case, the dust now covers;
A worn-out clasp, a broken hinge
Some velvet of a faded tinge—
While memory round it sweetly hovers.

Within there is a gentle face—
The soft brown eyes, the glossy hair,
The peaceful brow, serene and fair,
Are all within the old-time case.

*See Snoddy, pp. 28, 123, 129, 162, 175.

With sweet simplicity so rare,
A soul so pure, a heart so gay,
The picture shows in girlhood's day
Our mother's face so young and fair.¹⁹

One type of "literature" yet to be mined from North Missouri is the peoples' ballad. Some such book as the Lomax cow-boy ballads will doubtless be collected containing such songs as those of the James boys and the Younger brothers. Distinguished in such a collection will be the epic of the Missouri Argonaut, Joe Bowers:

My name it is Joe Bowers,
And I've got a brother, Ike;
I came from old Missouri,
And all the way from Pike.
I'll tell you why I left there,
And why I came to roam,
And leave my poor old mammy
So far away from home.²⁰

Doubtless material exists to show that Kansas City had the same type of early verse, but very little of it is to be found here. It is for the most part newspaper verse that Snoddy's book quotes from Kansas City Writers. That writing in other towns in western Missouri was stimulated by available publishing companies in Kansas City is doubtless true.

Nor is there material to show what South Missouri has done in verse of the more ambitious sort. There is some indication that the district where railroads are sparse may be rich in ballad lore. In the Foreword in Colonel Rollingpin's "Duck Creek Ballads" is expressed the same attitude toward life which is found in "The Houn' Dog" song, that Ozark classic made famous by Champ Clark:

¹⁹Snoddy, pp. 48 and 175.

²⁰For a discussion of the origin of this ballad see Connelley; *The Doniphan Expedition*.

..... the birds air singin' there
 Notes that can't be heard elsewhere,
 Voicin' natur' unaware.

Keep your culture, if ye will,
 It's a purty thing, but still
 Let me hear the whipperwill

Warblin nigh the everglade,
 Where no teacher yit 'haz strayed
 'Cept the one that music made.

Simple rhymes o' simple things
 Jes a nes' o' mutterings
 Hatch-ed out an' given wings.²¹

"Out Here, in Ol' Missouri," by the same author reveals strong Riley influence:

Out here in ol' Missouri's plenty good enough fur us,
 An' although we hev our troubles, yet we know they might be wus.
 Our crops are alus bounteful—our graineries are full,
 An' we kin git enough to eat, although the times air dull,
 Out here, in ol' Missouri.

Out here in ol' Missouri, the climates jes about
 The finest 'at you ever see, an' where there is a doubt—
 Ez when it seems to threaten rain, it's apt ez not to clear,
 An' then you see ol' Sol come out and shed his lustre here
 Out here, in ol' Missouri.

Out here in ol' Missouri—well, our scenery is sech—
 Our rivers, vales an' mountains, you can't look at 'em too much—
 'Specially in springtime, when all natur's on a boom,
 An' spreads herse'f an' seems to say, "Jes all I ast is room,"
 Out here in ol' Missouri.

Out here in ol' Missouri, we have ev'rything at a's good.
 Were bankin', too, on Providence—'ats alus understood.
 We see Him in the fertile fields, the fruits and flowers too—
 An' thank Him fur each blessin', ez our fathers ust to do—
 Out here, in old Missouri.

²¹Carter, John Henton (Colonel Rollingpin): *Duck Creek Ballads*, New York, 1894; *Log Cabin Poems*, St. Louis, 1897; *Out Here in Ol' Missouri*, St. Louis, 1900.

Out here, in ol' Missouri—thar air other states aroun—
 But we ain't gredgin' 'em a thing they hev on top o' groun',
 We're common es the commones', ez good, too, ez the bes'—
 An' don't ast any better place in futur an the res'
 Out here, in ol' Missouri.²²

The ballads themselves are in the vernacular also. Of
 "The Member from Ozark," he says:

The news that he printed war some ter behold,
 He'd bury a critter afore he was cold,
 An spin out an epitaph forty lines long
 'Fore his victim 'ould know thar' was anything wrong.

 But he's a law maker now in Jefferson Cit',
 And warms like a statesman a seat in the pit
 Got his lamps on the White House.

At Pacific, Missouri, in Franklin county, C. L. Phifer, a
 Missouri newspaper man for thirteen years, editor of the
 Pacific *Transcript*, published the *Franklin Quarterly* for a
 dozen or more issues from 1894. In *Under the Shadows*
 he celebrated the hawthorn before it became the Missouri
 flower.²³

Walnut trees and sarvus bloom
 Sweetly showing, richly growing;
 Hawthorn in the forest's gloom
 Sweetly, richly growing.

Often in my dreams I stray
 Down and through a flowery way
 Where a brook talks all the day,
 Flowing through the shadows.

So our days are hurrying on;
 As they sparkle they are gone;
 Sliding through the gloom they run,
 Flowing through the shadows.

²²Elly Drake Cobb: "A Star in the West" (Mo.) July, 1856.

²³Phifer, C. L.: *Annals of the Earth*, Chicago, 1890; *Love and Law, A Series of Sonnets*, California, Mo., 1889; *Two Volumes of Verse*, California, Mo., 1889; *Weather Wisdom*, California, Mo., 1889; *Franklin Quarterly, A Literary Magazine*, Pacific, Mo., 1894.

By the breathing flowers of spring,
Where the birds in rapture sing,
Where dry leaves in winter cling,
Flowing through the shadows.

Budding trees and meads abloom
Sweetly showing, richly growing;
Hawthorn in the forest gloom
Sweetly, richly growing.

In "Heart-House" he appears as a forerunner not only of makers of free verse, but also of psycho-analysts:

Each heart is a house,
And we furnish it day by day.
Some fill the rooms with things useful
And beautiful images of great thoughts;
Others with sodden and sensual things
That as the years grow turn to hideous forms;
And each must live, not in the world outside,
Not in the house that others have builded,
But in his heart-house.
And what, when God the holy,
Shall come to visit us?
In every heart-house there are hidden chambers,
And the dead are there,
But they are not dead,
Sometimes we visit them,
Even in dreams,
And the past and the dead live again in the heart-house.

Even the most cursory reading of these volumes arouses a good deal of admiration for the courage of the people whose voice they are. It is as human documents that they are most valuable. Nearly all are by people for whom verse-writing was an avocation merely. G. H. Walser came to Missouri from Illinois during the Civil War, and in 1880 founded the town of Liberal in Barton county. Two sizable volumes, *Poems of Leisure* and *The Bouquet*, published at Lamar record the thoughts of a patriarch in his leisure hours. The preface to the former shows that he was not of the improvident kind that caused a district judge in Missouri, whose son had literary ambitions, to say that he didn't want any "long-haired poets" in his family:

Mine has been a busy life, devoted to the first duty of providing for my family and the winters of old age. Through industry I am now able to think that I have enough to keep the wolf from the door of myself and wife (my family now) provided we act with prudence and economy. All persons at the age of fifty should have that; to have less is a mistake, to have more is a sin.

Referring to his literary labors he says:

I am sure the public does not know me as a rhymester, much less as a poet, the honor of which I can scarcely hope of receiving—Poetry consists of clothing elevated thoughts in chaste and rhythmic language. If I have succeeded in doing that, the presentation of this volume is not presumptuous. If I have failed . . . yet . . . I will have enough left for our family.

One poet frankly confesses to a safety-first policy:

The title "Poet" gives a man no business distinction. For that reason I have always been timid in my aspirations in that line, and whatever pieces I have published have not had my name attached.

Perhaps it was for some such reason that one considerable volume of creditable verse was published in Kansas City in 1879 with no name to acknowledge the authorship.*

But art for art's sake seems never to have been the motto of these earnest folk. One authoress declares:

*The Sampson Bibliography of Missouri authors lists an anonymous volume of verse entitled *Fantasma* with Mr. Warder's publications also. J. S. Snoddy's *Little Book of Missouri Verse* says (p. 178) that Mary Bryant, a teacher of English of Central College, Lexington, was the author of the publication. Evidence in the poems themselves seems to confirm the second statement. The author had apparently lived in Virginia before coming to Missouri, and Miss Bryant came to Lexington from Virginia. Mr. Warder never lived outside the state.

My aim has ever been to better humanity
 A higher standard of virtue, morals, and
 life is the crying need of the world to-day. May
 this book help to fill that vacuum.

Most prevalent was the conventional apology of Scott's
 "Lady of the Lake:"

Yet if one heart throb higher in its sway
 The wizard note has not been touched in vain.

The patriarch mentioned above in the preface to *The Bouquet, the Language of Flowers*, says:

If the association of sweet thoughts with fragrant
 flowers be the means of lifting some sorrowing
 heart to the sunlight of joy, or making
 the path of duty plainer to any struggling soul,
 my labors will not have been in vain.

The foreword of the same kind in one volume contains
 a touch of real poetry:

Go, little book, and if to any soul
 You bring one transient glimpse, one vision fair
 Of that bright world of dreams which round us lies
 Concealed, except where here and there the light
 Breaks through the mists which wrap our earthly lives,
 Then not in vain will you have wandered forth.

Of literary manners of the more obvious sort, those of
 Longfellow, Scott, Riley, and Poe are most often adopted,
 with occasionally, in the St. Louis versè, distinct suggestions
 of Matthew Arnold and Wordsworth. Metrical romances
 bear evidence of Longfellow and Scott traditions. The much
 quoted lines from *Marmion* seem to have inspired the follow-
 ing:

If in your heart you feel no fire
 Of love of country burn,
 Go malcontent to foreign lands—
 A patriot return.

The following shows that the writer knew Longfellow—
 possibly from his McGuffey's reader:

The flag of March is wide outflung
 A banner all of ice

 Unfolds prophetic device.

But there are numerous tributes to Poe, and it was apparently easier to catch the trick of his verse than of any other:

How the wintry wind is wailing in the eaves!
 How it weeps with sigh and moan!
 How it sinks to sob and groan,
 While it grieves, while it grieves!
 Are those whisperings in the eaves
 But soft threnodies of gloom,
 Liberated from the tomb,
 Of a soul that ever grieves—
 Ever grieves, with sigh and moan,
 Ever weeps, with sob and groan?²¹

"Autumn" has seven stanzas with the rhythm of the following:

But the dark and dismal, dripping
 Autumn rain!
 I am weary of the dreary,
 Ceaseless, moaning, droning, dripping
 Of the rain!²²

My spirit sits dreaming forever
 The sorrowful dreams of old,
 The passionate dreams of old,
 Yes, wildly it dreams of the river
 The river I loved of old,
 The sorrowful, dim, haunted river, the river I
 worshiped of old.²³

One author assures the public that he has "committed no intentional plagiarism. If there is anything in my book similar to what someone else has written before me, I do not know it now."

²¹Snoddy, p. 118.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 68.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 83.

It is difficult to generalize about the types of subjects represented. Nature, patriotism, the conduct of life are frequent. The local option agitation of 1887 called forth a good many verses on temperance:

O whiskey, whiskey—"Tis a curse!
Both to the health and to the purse;
For nothing is or can be worse
Than whiskey.

Often religious stanzas are in the same volume with impassioned love rhymes. Interest in beliefs is often shown in such lines as these, taken from a tribute to "Tom Paine:"

"I groaned as a child, beneath tyranny's ban,"
Liberty replied with disdain
"But now I defy you, I grew to a man,
Through the magical powers of Paine.

But the rule is that sincere orthodoxy is voiced by these writers:

You wonder why I love him
Who never saw his face,
But I have felt his presence
His love and tender grace.
• • • • •
He has led me long and tenderly,
In sorrow been my friend,
And he's promised to be with me,
To help me to the end.

The same writer in "When Jesus Was a Little Boy," says:

I know he loved his mother, and loved her until death,
For he spoke to John about her with almost his latest breath,
I just expect he ran and played and maybe made a noise,
For you know that none of them are men until after they are boys.¹⁷

For convenience early verse-writers will be listed in Part III as those of the 60's, 70's, 80's, and 90's, but it is difficult to see any dividing line other than chronological among them.

¹⁷Mrs. Mary E. Welch: *Present Truth*, pp. 36 and 88, published at Stannberry, Missouri, no date.

That bearing the earliest dates, 1840-1852 by Edward Staggs of St. Louis, is suggestive of the same literary traditions as that written in the 90's:

My country, my country, thou beautiful land!
Like Canaan, the favored of Heaven, dost stand:
With thy lakes so immense, and thy rivers so grand:
Thy fields teeming rich with the husbandman's hand
The envied of all.

Perhaps a little freer from conventional phrasing is this written in the 90's:

America was never mine
Until I left her shore;
With every league away from home
I loved my country more.
• • • • •
I never valued liberty
Until beneath a king
Where "Freedom" was an awful word
Reserved for whispering.

The author of the former speaks of the "females, like the lilies of the field," as the author of the latter would not do, but both have strong suggestions of Bryant's method of observing nature for the moral or religious reflection she inspires. Practically all of these writers represent recognized traditions in English ideas and modes of expression.

No mention has so far been made of the contribution of St. Louis to the literature of the state. That verse of considerable distinction was written there before 1900 is proved by many examples published in the Jesse and Allen anthology and by many volumes in the library of the State Historical Society of Missouri. The names of William Vincent Byars, Edward Robeson Taylor, Alexander N. DeMenil, Denton J. Snider, Ernest McGaffey, and Paul Elmer More are only a few examples. "A Century of Missouri Literature" by DeMenil²⁸ shows a much fuller acquaintance with those writers

²⁸Alexander N. DeMenil: "A Century of Missouri Literature," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XV, No. 1, October, 1920.

than it would be possible to secure outside of St. Louis.²⁹ Their work, it may be said, is to the rest of the state what that of the Emerson-Longfellow period is to the rest of the United States.

But there was born in St. Louis the man who, in one way or another, was to give a good deal of fame to Missouri. Eugene Field's parents were from Vermont, but he declared that he could not live in the East. On five counts, besides the mere accident of his birth within her borders, Missouri is entitled to call Eugene Field her own. (1) When colleges in New England and Illinois proved inadequate for his free spirit, he entered the University of Missouri. (2) He found people in the state of his father's adoption so congenial that he married a Missouri girl, who, with rare understanding as the years passed by had the grace to become his friend. (3) His first years of experience as a journalist were on papers in St. Joseph and St. Louis. (4) He wrote more about Missouri than any other poet that has got national

²⁹The following books, published in St. Louis before 1900, are representative of those in the library of The State Historical Society:

- Stagg, Edward: *Poems*, St. Louis, 1852.
 Colony, Myron: *Manomin*, St. Louis, 1866.
 Stone, Richard C.: *Poems*, St. Louis, 1876.
 James, C. L.: *Religious Meditations and Other Poems*, St. Louis, 1871.
 Wardell, Fannie Isabel Sherrick: *Love or Fame and Other Poems*, St. Louis, 1880; *Star Dust*, Chicago, 1888.
 Scott, Laurence W.: *The Mooted Question and Other Rhymes*, St. Louis 1880.
 Watson, Rev. George A.: *St. Casimir's Hymn to the Blessed Virgin*, St. Louis, 1881; *Poems*, St. Louis, 1882; *St. Louis, the Future Great*, 1882.
 Reavis, Rebecca Morrow: *Consider the Lilies and Other Poems*, St. Louis, 1883; *The Builders*, St. Louis, 1884.
 Rhodes, M., D. D.: *The Throne of Grace*, Philadelphia, 1887.
 Adams, G. A. S.: *Aunt Peggy and Other Poems*, St. Louis, 1888.
 More, Paul Elmer: *Helena and Occasional Poems*, New York, 1890.
 Watts, Florida E.: *The Varied Grace of Nature's Face* n. p., 1895.
 Garrison, J. H.: *The Heavensward Way*, St. Louis, 1896.
 Litzsinger, Louisa E.: *Violets Under the Snow*, Clayton, Mo., 1898.
 Terry, Howard L.: *A Tale of Normandie*, St. Louis, 1898.
 Snider, Denton J.: *Agamemnon's Daughter*, St. Louis, 1892; *Delphic Days*, St. Louis, 1890; *An Epigrammatic Voyage*, Boston, 1886.
 Byars, W. V.: "Babble of Green Fields" and "The Isle of Dreams" in *Studies in Verse*, South Orange, N. J., n. d.; Tannhauser, *A Mystery*, St. Louis, n. d.; "The Glory of the Garden" and other Odes, Sonnets and Ballads in *Second Studies in Verse*, n. p., n. d.

acceptance. (5) And, finally, whatever Missouri spirit is, it came more nearly getting itself expressed in his verse than in that of any other writer of the period.

His "John Smith" expresses the point of view. It is that of the onlooker. The Missourian sits at the cross-roads of the nation, perhaps, as his most recent apologist has said, with the consciousness of a civilization of his own, and bestows upon encircling states a glance of tolerance and humorous inquiry.

John Smith.

To-day I strayed in charing cross, as wretched as could be,
 With thinking of my home and friends across the trembling sea;
 There was no water in my eyes, but my spirits were depressed,
 And my heart lay like a sodden, soggy doughnut in my breast.
 This way and that streamed multitudes, that gaily passed me by;
 Not one in all the crowd knew me, and not a one knew I.
 "Oh for a touch of home!" I sighed; oh for a friendly face!
 Oh for a hearty hand-clasp in this teeming, desert place.
 And so soliloquizing, as a homesick creature will,
 Innocent I wandered down the noisy bustling hill,
 And drifted, automatic-like and vaguely, into Lowe's
 Where Fortune had in store a panacea for my woes.
 The register was open, and there dawned upon my sight
 A name that filled and thrilled me with a cyclone of delight,—
 The name that I shall venerate until my dying day,—
 The proud, immortal signature: "John Smith," U. S. A.

You see, John Smith, just which you are I cannot well recall;
 And, really, I am pleased to think you somehow must be all!
 For when a man sojourns abroad awhile, as I have done,
 He likes to think of all the folks he left at home as one.
 And so they are,—for well you know there's nothing in a name;
 Our Browns, our Joneses, and our Smiths are happily the same,—
 All represent the spirit of the land across the sea;
 All stand for one high purpose in our country of the free,
 Whether John Smith be from the South, the North, the West, the East,
 So long as he's American, it mattereth not the least;
 Whether his crest be badger, bear, palmetto, sword, or pine,
 His is the glory of the stars that with the stripes combine.
 Where'er he be, whate'er his lot, he's eager to be known,
 Not by his mortal name, but by his country's name alone;
 And so, compatriot, I am proud you wrote your name today
 Upon the register at Lowe's, "John Smith, U. S. A."

But the fullest expression of the spirit is in the "Plaint of the Missouri Coon in the Berlin Zoological Gardens:"

Friend, by the way you hump yourself you're from the States, I know,
And born in old Mizzoorah, where the 'coons in plenty grow.
I, too, am native of that clime; but harsh, relentless fate
Has doomed me to an exile far from that noble State;
And I, who used to climb around, and swing from tree to tree,
Now lead a life of ignominious ease, as you can see.
Have pity, O compatriot mine! and bide a season near,
While I unfurl a dismal tale to catch your friendly ear.
My pedigree is noble; they used my grandsire's skin
To piece a coat for Patterson to warm himself within,—
Tom Patterson, of Denver; no ermine can compare
With the grizzled robe that Democratic statesman loves to wear.
Of such a grandsire I am come; and in the County Cole
All up an ancient cottonwood our family had its hole.
He envied not the liveried pomp nor proud estate of kings,
As we hustled round from day to day in search of bugs and things.

And when the darkness fell around, a mocking-bird was nigh,
Inviting pleasant, soothing dreams with his sweet lullaby;
And sometimes came the yellow dog to brag around all night
That nary 'coon could wallop him in a stand-up barrel fight.
We simply smiled and let him howl, for all Mizzoorians know
That ary 'coon can best a dog, if the 'coon gets half a show;
But we'd nestle close and shiver when the mellow moon had ris'n,
And the hungry nigger sought our lair in hopes to make us his'n.

Raised as I was, it's hardly strange I pine for those old days;
I cannot get acclimated or used to German ways.
The victuals that they give me here may all be very fine
For vulgar, common palates, but they will not do for mine.
The 'coon that's been accustomed to stanch democratic cheer
Will not put up with onion tarts and sausage steeped in beer,
No; let the rest, for meat and drink, accede to slavish terms
But send *me* back from whence I came, and let me grub for worms!

They come these gaping Teutons do, on Sunday afternoons,
And wonder what I am,—alas, there are no German 'coons!
For if there were, I still might swing at home from tree to tree,
The symbol of democracy, that's woolly, blithe and free.
And yet for what my captors are I would not change my lot,
For *I* have tasted liberty, these others *they* have not;
So, even caged, the democratic 'coon more glory feels
Than the conscript German puppets with their swords about their heels.

Well, give my love to Crittenden, to Clardy, and O'Neill,
 To Jasper Burke and Col. Jones, and tell 'em how I feel;
 My compliments to Cockrill, Stephens, Switzler, Francis, Vest,
 Bill Nelson, J. West Goodwin, Jedge Broadhead and the rest.
 Bid them be steadfast in the faith, and pay no heed at all
 To Joe McCullagh's badinage or Chauncey Filley's gall;
 And urge them to retaliate for what I'm suffering here,
 By cinching all the alien class that wants its Sunday beer.

Eugene Field's career and character are difficult to understand because of the deep-lying contradiction between his instinctive respect for what was established, which came to him from his New England inheritance and training, and a fun-loving disposition that usually disregarded accepted patterns of conduct. The former got itself expressed in "Wynken, Blynken, and Nod," in "The Little Tin Soldier," in "Little Boy Blue"—in all of his best known verse. It is the spirit of the Dedication to the *Second Book of Verse*:

A little bit of a woman came
 Athwart my path one day;
 So tiny was she that she seemed to be
 A pixy strayed from the misty sea,
 Or a wandering greenwood fay.

"Oho, you little elf!" I cried,
 "And what are you doing here?
 So tiny as you will never do
 For the brutal rush and hullabaloo
 Of this practical world, I fear."

"Voice have I, good sir," she quoth.—
 "'Tis soft as an angel's sigh,
 But to fancy a word of yours were heard
 In all the din of this world's absurd!"
 Smiling I made reply.

"Hands have I, good sir," she quoth.—
 "Merry and that have you!
 But amid the strife and the tumult rife
 In all the struggle and battle for life,
 What can those wee hands do?"

"Eyes have I, good sir," she said.—
 "Sooth, you have," quoth I,
 "And tears shall flow therefrom, I trow,
 And they betimes shall dim with woe,
 As the hard, hard years go by!"

That little bit of a woman cast
 Her two eyes full on me,
 And they smote me sore to my inmost core,
 And they hold me slaved forevermore,—
 Yet would I not be free!

Dear one, I bless the subtle power
 That makes me wholly thine;
 And I'm proud to say that I bless the day
 When a little woman wrought her way
 Into this heart of mine!

There have been three classes of critics of Eugene Field in Missouri and outside: those who, resolutely shutting their ears to his capriciousness, and embracing what Reedy called the Eugene Field myth, crown him the laureate of childhood; those for whom the inconsistencies of his nature are an unsurpassable barrier, to prevent their according him any recognition; and those who, aware of his almost dual personality, believe that there was, nevertheless, no malice in his nature, and that such irresponsibility as his should be forgiven one of such freedom from cant and such human charm. Some of this last class believe, furthermore, that if he had not spent himself as lavishly as he did his patrimony, he might have developed into one of America's greatest humorists.

One of his enthusiastic critics described him as

an engaging and suggestive figure—one of those unusual men who contrive to be profoundly typical of their time and environment at the same time that they retain the raciest of individualities. Irresponsible gayety, obstreperous plunging through bush and briar after the will o' the wisp of fun, his jaunty plucking of the laughter from dullness represent a trait of the nascent but already recognizable national temper which bids fair to mark us off most saliently from our native English stock.⁴⁰

⁴⁰*Atlantic* 78:265.

Possibly it is because the typical Missourian is more nearly like Uncle Sam than any other national type; and that two traits of the typical Missourian, a regard for the traditions of the past and a detached whimsicality, both found voice in him, that there seems an obvious fitness in calling this first period of Missouri verse-writers the Eugene Field Period.

(Parts II and III will follow in the July issue of the *Review*.)

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THE TEST OATH FOR THE CLERGY IN MISSOURI

BY THOMAS S. BARCLAY

In June 1865, the electorate of Missouri, by a scant majority of eighteen hundred votes, adopted a new constitution for the state. This document had been prepared by a convention whose policies had been very largely under the control and direction of the radical Republicans, headed by Charles D. Drake. As the constitution came from the hands of its framers, it contained a long and complicated section which dealt with the suffrage. The significant features of this article included a large and specified number of disqualifications for voting that were incredibly comprehensive in scope, a provision for a state wide system of registration, under the general control of the Legislature, and the requirement that not only voters but state and local officials, attorneys, jurors, directors of corporations, professors, teachers, bishops, priests, and ministers should subscribe to an oath of loyalty.¹ When the article on the suffrage was first presented to the convention by the Committee on the Elective Franchise, the clause dealing with the clergy had been as follows:

¹Article II, section 9 read: "No person shall assume the duties of any State, county, city, town or other office, to which he may be appointed, otherwise than by a vote of the people; nor shall any person after the expiration of sixty days after this Constitution takes effect, be permitted to practice as any attorney or counselor at law; nor, after that time, shall any person be competent as a bishop, priest, deacon, minister, elder, or other clergyman of any religious persuasion, sect, or denomination, to teach, or preach, or solemnize marriages, unless such person shall have first taken, subscribed, and filed said Oath." See also sections 3, 11. The state convention in June, 1862, provided for an oath of loyalty for all preachers before the marriage ceremony could be performed. It was prospective in character and its conditions could easily be met. *Journal, State Convention*, (St. Louis, 1862), pp. 14-15.

—"nor, after that time (sixty days) shall any person be competent, as a bishop, priest, deacon, minister, elder, or other clergyman of any religious persuasion, sect, or denomination, to solemnize marriages; unless such person shall have first taken, subscribed, and filed said oath."²

When the article was reported back from the Engrossing Committee, William H. Folmsbee, who represented in the convention the views of the radical northwestern portion of the state, moved to amend this section so that before the words "to solemnize marriages" would appear the additional restrictions "to teach or preach."³ Despite strong opposition, led by William F. Switzler, the most prominent among the moderate group in the convention, the amendment was adopted.⁴

The oath of loyalty, designated by many as the "iron-clad" oath, was of an extreme and unusual character. Incorporated in the constitution primarily to restrict voting to loyal persons, its far reaching clauses were further extended to office holders, state and local, to lawyers, to jurors, and to bishops, clergymen, and priests.⁵ The restrictive provisions embodied in the oath of loyalty were drastically severe. The applicant for registration was required, among other things, to swear that he had never, "directly or indirectly," been in armed hostility to the United States or to the Government of Missouri, or had given "aid, comfort, countenance, or support

²*Journal of the Missouri State Convention*. (St. Louis, 1865), p. 37. The chairman of this committee was David Bonham, an extreme radical from northwestern Missouri. Its real leader, and the author of the entire section was Charles D. Drake.

³*Ibid.* p. 211.

⁴*Ibid.* p. 211. The proposal advocated by Folmsbee led to a prolonged and bitter debate in the convention. For a summary of the discussion, see the *St. Louis Dispatch*, April 1, 1865.

⁵Section 6 in Article II, contains the oath of loyalty and section 3 the specified acts which would disqualify any person in the classes indicated from participation in the various professions.

to persons engaged in such hostility," or had manifested his sympathy with those engaged in carrying on rebellion against the United States, or had ever willingly harbored, aided, or countenanced any person engaged in guerilla warfare or in "bushwhacking."⁶ It was further provided in the constitution that if a person exercised any of the functions of any of the offices therein specified, without first taking the oath, he would be punished, on conviction, by a fine of \$500.00, or by a prison sentence of not less than six months, or by both.⁷ The oath was to be filed in the office of the clerk of the County Court where the person resided.⁸ The constitution did not provide for any central administrative machinery for enforcing the clauses concerning the test oath; local officers were relied upon in the carrying out of state policy. The constitution became effective on the fourth of July, 1865, and all persons taking the oath of loyalty were required to do so within sixty days.⁹

The proclamation of Governor Fletcher announced the constitution to be in effect on July 4, 1865. Between that day and the first of September, when the time fixed for taking the oath of loyalty expired, speculation was rife and discussion widespread throughout the State concerning the oath in its application to the professional classes. The clergy of all denominations were placed in a difficult, not to say humiliating, position. The constitution required them, in effect, to take out a license to preach. To comply with its provisions, it was contended, would be to concede the power of the state to regulate religion; to refuse to comply, while continuing the functions of the office, would be to disobey the law. It was further suggested that they might cease all preaching and teaching, close their churches and await a decision on the constitutionality of the oath, in so far as it pertained to the clergy.¹⁰ During the month of July there

⁶Article II, section 3.

⁷*Ibid.* section 14.

⁸*Ibid.* section 10.

⁹*Ibid.* section 7.

¹⁰*St. Louis Dispatch*, August 1, 1865.

was a rather general interchange of opinions and views among the clergy of Missouri and it was asserted that the result was "an almost unanimous resolution by the Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Christian ministers to disregard the oath and to continue to preach and to teach."¹¹ The Catholic Church early took a position of opposition to the oath of loyalty or test oath as it was commonly called. The leader of this opposition was the Archbishop of the Diocese, Peter Richard Kendrick of St. Louis. To him, the test oath was but a form of persecution which the triumphant Radical minority had forced upon a majority of the people.¹² In an open letter to his clergy the Archbishop expressed the hope that the civil power would abstain from exacting the oath but added that if it should be otherwise, he was ready to give counsel and assistance.¹³ The general view of the Catholic clergy was clearly stated by one of their leaders, Father Pierre De Smet. "The priests are generally agreed," he wrote, "that, on principle, such an oath cannot be taken, because our authority does not emanate from the State, and we cannot, without compromising the ecclesiastical state, consent to take it. No Catholic priest in Missouri will take it. * * * * * If this cruel law is really enforced our churches will have to be closed and our schools and colleges will be ruined."¹⁴

The Episcopal clergy turned for guidance to Bishop Hawks. The bishop himself had taken the oath of loyalty but was opposed to what he termed its retroactive features and its application only to particular classes.¹⁵ His advice was that all ministers who could take the oath conscientiously should do so; if not, then they should not take it.¹⁶ "I hope

¹¹*Missouri Statesman*, August 4, 1865.

¹²J. J. O'Shea: *The Two Kendricks* (Philadelphia, 1904), pp. 296-297.

¹³For the full text of this letter, see the *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1865, (New York, 1866), p. 591.

¹⁴*Life, Letters, and Travels of Father Pierre Jean De Smet, S. J.* Edited by H. M. Chittenden and A. T. Richardson, 4 vols., (New York, 1905), Vol. IV, pp. 1444-1445.

¹⁵Hawk's views appear in the *Missouri Democrat* for August 30, 1865.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

that it (the test oath) may soon be repealed," he wrote, "and that, in the meantime, the civil authority will not attempt to enforce it."¹⁷ A prominent clergyman of St. Louis, the Reverend Montgomery Schuyler, expressed well the situation confronting a large group of his associates when he declared: "Now the question is being agitated among the clergy of the various denominations, and of our own Church, whether a true regard to our own rights and prerogatives does not demand that we should refuse compliance with an exaction which so clearly infringes upon our liberty as citizens and so unjustly proscribes us as a class. * * * * The simple question is, am I bound to submit to such an unjust exaction and thereby admit that my right and duty to preach the Gospel and perform the ministrations of my office is limited by the construction which any body of men, no matter by what authority convened, may choose to put upon my loyalty?"¹⁸

During the summer of 1865 the "iniquities" of the new constitution were brought sharply before the people of Missouri. The opponents of Radicalism concentrated their attacks on the oath of loyalty, and especially upon its application to the clergy. Certain church organizations began formally to oppose the oath. The General Association of the Baptist Church of Missouri, at its annual session, held in August, 1865, closed its deliberations with a lengthy protest against the test oath, in the form of an *Address to the Baptist Churches of the State*. The provision of the constitution was declared to be unconstitutional, unjust, and an arbitrary interference with religious liberty.¹⁹ During the summer of

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸Quoted from William Schuyler: *An Ambassador of Christ*, (New York, 1901), p. 234. Murray Hoffmann, of the New York Bar, to whom Schuyler wrote, maintained that the test oath added a new punishment for former offenses and was an ex post facto law. *Ibid.*, pp. 235-236. Schuyler took the oath not caring to suffer "a useless martyrdom" for violating the constitution, but entered a public protest against it. *Missouri Republican*, August 29, 1865.

¹⁹W. M. Leftwich: *Martyrdom in Missouri*, (St. Louis, 1870), Vol. II, pp. 321-322. For further information concerning the Baptists, see W. Pope Yeaman: *A History of the Missouri Baptist General Association*, (Columbia, Mo., 1899), pp. 124-128.

1865, many of the district associations of the Baptist church also issued formal statements which voiced their unqualified disapproval of the test oath, while only a small minority of the districts endorsed it.²⁰ "The new constitution of the State of Missouri," wrote a Baptist leader, "forced upon the people of the State without their consent, is nothing more than a systematic oppression and persecution of the ministry of the gospel under color of law ***** it undertakes to do what no constitution in this country has ever undertaken, that is, to establish political tests for the ordinary pursuits of life."²¹ At the St. Louis conference of the Methodist Church, South, the test oath was the chief topic of interest, and the Bishop's sermon strongly protested against any action which would tend to put the temporal power above the spiritual power.²²

In the meanwhile, the advocates of the oath of loyalty did not remain silent. It was early evident that those who, like Kendrick and Hawks, hoped for a deliberate policy of non-enforcement of the constitutional provisions, had failed utterly to comprehend the Radical attitude. Their hopes were rudely shattered by the vehement declarations of Governor Fletcher. To dispel any idea of leniency in the enforcement of the test oath, the governor stated in words which could not be misunderstood that the exact provisions of the entire constitution would be carried out with all the power at his command.²³ Fletcher justified his uncompromising attitude on the rather reasonable assumption that, pending a decision by a higher judicial tribunal, the constitution was valid and that it was his duty to use the entire legal and military authority of the State to uphold the con-

²⁰R. S. Duncan: *A History of the Baptists in Missouri*, (St. Louis, 1882), p. 919. It was alleged that only thirty of the five hundred Baptist ministers favored the oath.

²¹W. Pope Yeaman in the *Baptist Monthly*, (Covington, Kentucky, 1865), Vol I, pp. 161-162.

²²*Missouri Democrat*, August 28, 1865. See also W. H. Lewis: *The History of Methodism in Missouri*, (Nashville, 1890), pp. 215-217.

²³*Missouri Democrat*, August 1, 1865. During the summer of 1865, Fletcher reaffirmed in numerous speeches this general view and defended the new constitution as an admirable document.

stitution and to enforce the laws.²⁴ "Religious liberty is a political right," asserted the governor, "and when these outraged gentlemen go to the Supreme Court of the United States with their complaint, they will be told that there is not a sentence or a word in the Constitution of the United States which gives them the right to preach at all. That it (the test oath) is an infringement of religious liberty secured to any person by the Constitution of the United States, I deny."²⁵ He reinforced his arguments by the discomforting suggestion that arrangements would be made for enlarging the penitentiary to accommodate all clergymen and teachers who refused to take the oath while continuing the functions of their offices.²⁶ The governor's course was quite generally approved by the Radical press, especially by the newspapers of St. Louis which supported that party. The test oath was defended as a proper measure of protection to the loyal citizens of Missouri and those who opposed it were comprehensively condemned as "rebels" and "traitors."²⁷ During the months following the adoption of the Constitution, Radical opinion sustained with emphasis, and, in many instances, with unanimity the assertions of its leaders.

Among certain groups of the clergy there were some attempts to justify the test oath. Those ministers who, in general, endorsed the principles of Radicalism if they did not approve of its methods, denied that the framers of the Constitution intended to infringe upon religious liberty. "They framed this merciless test oath," declared a prominent Baptist clergyman, "to hold in check the rebellious proslavery element of the commonwealth until the new order of

²⁴Perhaps the best statement of Governor Fletcher is to be found in a letter to the editors of the *Missouri Democrat* which appeared on August 25, 1865.

²⁵Quoted from the *Letter of F. P. Blair to the People of Missouri*, (St. Louis, 1865) p. 1.

²⁶*Missouri Statesman*, August 11, 1865. The governor's belligerent pronouncement made him the subject of sharp criticism by the numerous opponents of the test oath.

²⁷See for example the *Missouri Democrat*, August 1, 7, 28, 1865.

things had become thoroughly established.²⁸ The reason for the application of the test oath to clergymen was explained by the fact that "a majority of them throughout Missouri were disunionists and used their office to influence rebellion."²⁹ The State was thus justified in restricting those who had sought to destroy the Union. The chief endorsement of the oath came from the Northern Methodists, and a small faction of Presbyterians and Baptists.

The Constitution provided for an interval of sixty days during which time the professional classes affected were to subscribe to the oath of loyalty.³⁰ This period ended on September 2, 1865. On that day, it was announced that in St. Louis scarcely one-fourth of the clergy had taken the oath and that no priest or bishop of the Catholic church or minister of the Methodist Church, South, or of the Christian church had subscribed to it.³¹ The various ministers conducted their services just as though there was no oath in existence, and only one clergyman in St. Louis made any formal recognition of the situation.³²

Shortly after the constitutional provisions became operative, the attention of the entire state suddenly was attracted to the enforcement of the oath of loyalty in Pike County and to the somewhat dramatic consequences which resulted. John A. Cummings, "a very modest, gentlemanly looking little fellow, of about twenty-two or twenty-three years of age," was the priest of the local Catholic parish at Louisiana. On September 3, Cummings preached before his congregation without having subscribed to the oath. The

²⁸Galusha Anderson: *The Test Oath of Missouri in the Baptist Quarterly* (Philadelphia, 1867), Vol. I, p. 286. Writing many years later, Anderson maintained that persecution was not intended by the Radicals. See *A Border City During the Civil War*, (Boston, 1908), p. 358.

²⁹Quoted from the *Baptist Quarterly*, Vol. I p. 288. "Many ministers over the state had, in one way or another supported the rebellion, and were now suffering for that and for nothing else." Anderson: *opp. cit.* p. 358. Anderson was the recognized leader of that element in the clergy who accepted the test oath and defended it.

³⁰Art. III, sec. 7.

³¹*St. Louis Dispatch*, September 2, 1865.

³²*Ibid.*

following week, he was indicted by the Grand Jury of Pike County, taken to Bowling Green, and arraigned before Judge Fagg, of the Circuit Court. When the indictment was read to him, Father Cummings pleaded guilty and delivered a brief address to the court wherein he sought to show that his arraignment was a violation of his constitutional rights and a persecution of the Catholic church. Senator Henderson, who replied to Cummings, emphatically denied that persecution was intended and maintained that the provisions of the constitution applied to all and would be enforced against all, Protestant and Catholic alike.³³

Under the provisions of the constitution, the penalty for violating the oath of loyalty clause was a fine of \$500.00 or a prison sentence of six months, or both.³⁴ Judge Fagg levied a fine of \$500.00 against Cummings who would not permit his friends to pay it. He was, therefore, placed in jail and persistently refused to accept bail, pending an appeal to the Supreme Court of Missouri. "He would not give bail and absolutely quarreled with the sheriff because he did not imprison him promptly enough," was the report of one interested observer.³⁵

When the news of the Cummings case spread over the state it provoked widespread discussion and the public mind was filled with the deepest interest. The details were placed before the people with all the embellishments that the newspapers were able to add, and the remote regions of the state soon became familiar with the particulars. The Cummings case is significant because it was the first one which tested the constitutionality of the test oath for clergymen, and to

³³For full accounts of the earlier aspects of the Cummings case, see *Missouri Democrat*, September 20, 1865. *St. Louis Dispatch*, September 18, 27, 1865; *Louisiana True Flag*, September 16, 23, 1865. Leftwich: *Martyrdom in Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 341-44.

³⁴Article II, section 14.

It is apparent that considerable pressure was brought to bear on Cummings to have him accept bail and offers for financial and legal assistance were made both by Catholic and by Protestants. See Robert A. Campbell's Speech in the *Proceedings of the Conservative Convention*, (St. Louis, 1865), p. 27. *St. Louis Dispatch*, September 27, 1865.

³⁵*Louisiana True Flag*, September 16, 1865.

conservatives, he was "the first victim of the tyranny of the new Constitution."³⁶ There was a general outcry among the different religious denominations against the arrest of Cummings and much public sentiment was expressed in his favor as well as unqualified and bitter disapproval of the Radical policy in enforcing the test oath. Archbishop Kendrick supported strongly the actions of "the rebellious priest" and was instrumental in having the case appealed to the Supreme Court of Missouri.³⁷

The Radicals, meanwhile, commended the rigid enforcement of the oath of loyalty and approved the gratuitous rigor of the methods employed. To call into question the issue of ecclesiastical liberty was but "an impudent assumption of white traitors with black, treasonable hearts."³⁸ In the radical strongholds of northwestern Missouri, the arrest of Cummings was cordially endorsed and the demand was voiced for the enforcement of the new constitution.³⁹ Elsewhere in the state, also, Radicals hastened to reaffirm their belief in stringent measures for the protection of Missouri from the baneful activities of "rebel" and "disloyal" preachers.⁴⁰ An important element among them wished to justify the test oath from a legalistic point of view without arguing the merits of any particular application of it. This group consistently maintained that a church was simply an association of individuals entertaining certain religious views and engaging in certain religious ceremonies, while claiming divine authority both for the faith and for the practice in which they indulged. Every member of a Church, whether bishop, priest, elder, or layman was a citizen of the State, and amenable, therefore, to every law on the statute books.

³⁶*St. Louis Dispatch*, September 18, 1865.

³⁷J. J. O'Shea: *The Two Kendricks*, pp. 296-297; *Life of Reverend Peter Richard Kendrick*, anonymous, (St. Louis, 1891), p. 28.

³⁸*Louisiana True Flag*, September 9, 1865.

³⁹*Holt County Sentinel*, September 15, 1865. *Missouri Democrat*, October 10, 1865. *Macon Argus*, December 13, 1865.

⁴⁰See the *St. Louis Dispatch*, September 24, 1865, for a typical illustration of Radical sentiment in southern Missouri, as embodied in a series of resolutions in county conventions.

There was no civil duty from which a churchman of any rank or position could claim exemption on the mere ground that he was connected with a religious organization. If the State, in behalf of the common good, required that the *pursuits* of individual citizens be regulated it acted entirely within its powers and violated no constitutional rights whatever.⁴¹

If Cummings and his advisers actually desired to bring forward the question of the oath of loyalty and to make him a "martyr," the somewhat spectacular method they employed, whether or not prearranged, proved rather successful. Walking about the streets of Bowling Green or giving bond and returning to Louisiana was not martyrdom. But to languish in jail, with horse thieves and other violators of the laws, as an alleged victim of Radicalism, served to give the oath of loyalty a widespread, and, in many respects, a notorious publicity. There was a considerable amount of loose talking and arrogant assertions on the subject both by conservatives and by Radicals.⁴² After remaining in jail several days, arrangements were made for securing bond for Cummings. He was released, pending the decision of the Supreme Court of Missouri to which tribunal his case had been appealed, on a motion in arrest of the judgment pronounced by the circuit court.

Before the contentious and prolonged discussion over the Cummings case had died away, the conservative elements in Missouri had commenced formally to organize in opposition to the Radical party. The proclamation calling together in a convention those who favored Andrew Johnson's plan of reconstruction and who opposed the Radical regime, in the State, was especially severe in its criticism of the test oath.⁴³ In session three days, the convention was largely concerned

⁴¹Perhaps the best expression of this view is in the communications of George R. Strong, a St. Louis lawyer and Radical leader, to the Presbyterian Synod of Missouri, printed in the *Missouri Democrat*, September 6, 11, 27, 1865.

⁴²The Cummings case, from the beginning, was rather widely discussed in many journals outside of Missouri, and comments upon it were frequently, and, for the most part, extremely partizan and unreliable.

⁴³*Missouri Statesman*, October 13, 1865.

with a discussion of Radicalism, the new constitution, and the oath of loyalty.⁴⁴ When it adjourned, no one could doubt that a demand for the total abolition of the test oath for all professional classes would constitute one of the chief planks in the platform of the emerging Conservative Union Party.

Late in October, 1865, the case was argued before the Supreme Court of Missouri, sitting at St. Louis.⁴⁵ Cummings' attorney insisted that the oath of loyalty for clergymen was in violation of the Bill of Rights of the Missouri constitution, because it invaded a field "of those fundamental rights which belong to the citizen as a man, and not as a member of a political society."⁴⁶ He declared, further, that the oath for clergymen violated that provision of the federal constitution which prohibits a state from enacting an *ex post facto* law.⁴⁷ The State of Missouri punished an offense previously committed by a penalty not prescribed at the time of the commission of the act. Finally, it was urged that the provisions concerning the test oath were a bill of attainder in that they declared a forfeiture of the right to preach or teach as a bishop, priest, or deacon.⁴⁸

Counsel for the State contended that there was nothing in the federal constitution to prohibit a state from restricting, or even prohibiting, the exercise of any trade or profession, or from prescribing the qualifications of persons who engaged in professions.⁴⁹ The somewhat narrow view was advanced that the provisions of the Missouri constitution were not *ex post facto* in character because they did not provide any punishment for past offenses but only for a violation of existing law.⁵⁰

⁴⁴See the *Proceedings, Conservative Convention*, (St. Louis, 1865), *passim*.

⁴⁵(1865) *Missouri v. Cummings*, 36 Missouri 164.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 167.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 169. It had been held by the Missouri court in an earlier case, *Austin v. The State*, that it was in the power of the Legislature to prohibit or restrict the exercise of professions and trades within the State and in *Simmons v. The State* that the practice of law was a grant of privilege which could be revoked, amended, or restricted, (1846) 10 Missouri 370, (1848) 12 Missouri 174.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 168.

The opinion in the case was rendered by a unanimous court.⁵¹ Speaking through Judge Wagner, the court denied, first, that the provisions of the constitution were a bill of attainder because they merely imposed certain prescribed acts as prerequisites for doing certain things. No estates were confiscated; no forfeitures were declared; no pains and penalties inflicted.⁵² The court dismissed the contention that the oath of loyalty was *ex post facto* legislation on the ground that the oath had been placed in the constitution for future protection and not as a punishment for any past offense.⁵³ The state, in imposing restrictions and conditions on its citizens in the exercise of their callings and professions, was acting in the field of municipal regulation and for the public good.⁵⁴ Finally, the court refused to consider the doctrine that the provisions of the constitution were void because they were contrary to justice and to the fundamental principles of our institutions, or were inexpedient, oppressive, and unjust.⁵⁵

The decision in the Cummings case was regarded by the Radicals as a final settlement of the issue and a frank warning to non-juring preachers promptly to obey the laws of the State.⁵⁶ Leading conservatives saw in the decision but another manifestation of partizan intolerance and looked on

⁵¹The three members of the Supreme Court—Justices Wagner, Lovelace, and Holmes—were Radicals. They had been appointed in June, 1865, when, under the "ousting ordinance" of the constitutional convention, all the judicial offices in the State had been declared vacated and the governor authorized to fill the vacancies. The enforcement of the provisions of this ordinance had aroused considerable hostility. For a full discussion of this, see T. K. Skinker: *The Removal of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Missouri in 1865*. Missouri Historical Society Collections, vol. IV, pp. 253-270 (1914).

⁵²(1865) 36 Missouri 170.

⁵³*Ibid.*, p. 171.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p. 174. "It is not for the judiciary to inquire whether laws violate the general principles of liberty or natural justice, or whether they are wise and inexpedient or not." Some weeks before the decision in the Cummings case, the court had upheld the provisions of the constitution requiring attorneys to subscribe to the oath of loyalty. See *State v. Garseche*, (1865) 36 Missouri 159.

⁵⁶*Democrat*, November 1, 1865.

the verdict as conclusive evidence that the judiciary had fallen under the complete sway of the Radicals.⁵⁷

Notwithstanding the constitutional provisions concerning the oath of loyalty and the favorable verdict of the Supreme Court, so cheering to many, every Radical came shortly to see that the enforcement of the test oath on any extended scale, and with any reasonable degree of uniformity, was little short of impossible. During the latter months of 1865, both before and after the decision of the Supreme Court, no definite or settled policy toward the enforcement of the oath was put into execution by the Radical organization. Despite the vehemence and ostentation of certain Radical leaders, the operation of the law, from the beginning, proved very unequal. Generally speaking, in those sections where conservatism predominated and where local officials were either hostile or indifferent to the test oath, it was openly ignored. Local sentiment often became the chief factor which controlled the enforcement of the legally enacted policy of the State, while locally elected prosecuting attorneys failed to prosecute and locally selected grand juries adjourned without finding indictments against clergymen accused of violating the fundamental laws of the State.⁵⁸ In those communities where violent opposition to the oath of loyalty existed, its enforcement was often disregarded, or carried out in a most indifferent manner. "It is inoperative," declared Frank P. Blair, whom the Radicals regarded as their most notorious and dangerous foe. "Every preacher in the State continues to preach. In St. Louis, preachers of the Gospel preach and pray and perform the marriage ceremony, and there is no Grand Jury there that will indict them for the

⁵⁷For a typical comment, see the *Statesman*, November 17, 1865.

⁵⁸For additional evidence on this situation, which continued for over a year, see *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1865, (New York, 1866) p. 592; *Encyclopaedia of Missouri History*, (St. Louis, 1901), vol. I, p. 927; *Life of Father DeSmet*, vol. IV, p. 1462; *Northwest Conservator*, September 9, November 25, 1865; *Peoples Tribune*, October 18, 1865. *Christian Advocate*, January 4, 11, 18, 25, February 8, March 29, July 29, 1866. Thomas Shackelford, *Early Recollections of Missouri*, *Mo. Hist. Soc. Collections*, vol. II, p. 13.

offense."⁵⁹ After the oath had been in effect several weeks Father De Smet in St. Louis, could write to his brother that "the sad circumstances do not in the least interfere with our ordinary tranquility.....Our churches remain open and we preach and administer the sacraments as usual. We pray and keep our patience, under the wings of the eagle, the emblem of the Constitution of the United States."⁶⁰ And, as the weeks passed, the situation tended more and more to indicate the great difficulty in the uniform and effective enforcement by local agencies of a state policy which clearly conflicted with the views of particular communities of people whom it affected.

When it was definitely seen that the provisions of the constitution were being openly ignored in many sections of the State, or, when enforcement was attempted, it resulted in meagre success but incurred a considerable amount of bitter feeling and local hostility, radical opinion became somewhat divided. Certain elements in the Radical party seemed loath to accept the accomplished facts, and apparently regarded the situation as one which might indicate a new re-

⁵⁹Quoted in *Missouri Democrat*, October 23, 1865, from an address delivered by Blair at Rolla on October 19, 1865. The Grand Jury of St. Louis County was in session two weeks in September, 1865, and adjourned without finding a single indictment against a minister, teacher, or deacon, *Christian Advocate*, September 28, 1865, *Ibid*, October 19, 1865. It was claimed that there had been at least two thousand violations of the Constitution in St. Louis County, and but one indictment, preferred at the request of S. T. Glover, *Republican*, October 16, 1865. "We conclude that in other portions of the State a few vindictive and violent partisans have stirred up two or three prosecutions and are harassing innocent people. * * * It is now manifest that what was intended for a tragedy has turned out to be a farce," *Ibid*. Several months later, it was reported that but one Presbyterian clergyman in St. Louis had taken the oath, while the remainder were preaching as formerly, and were supported by their congregations. *Central Presbyterian*, in *Christian Advocate*, February 18, 1866. The open violations of the test oath in St. Louis were not confined to the clergy but extended to corporation directors and lawyers. It was claimed that only one indictment had been found in St. Louis County and that had been in a case to test the constitutionality of the oath for lawyers.

⁶⁰*Life of Father De Smet*, vol. IV, p. 1446.

"A few preachers have subscribed to the oath; only a few, however, proportional to the whole number." Quoted from *Christian Advocate*, November 16, 1865. "It has been taken by comparatively few ministers in the State. None of the Catholic bishops or priests have taken it; a very few, if any, of the M. E. Church, South, have taken it; and only a small portion of the Presbyterians and Baptists have done so," *Ibid*, November 11, 1865.

bellion. "Are we to have another rebellion," inquired an indignant Radical leader in southwestern Missouri, "Have we again to chastise these traitors? If so, the sooner the work is begun the better. Forbearance only gives encouragement to them in their efforts to disturb the quiet of the state."⁶¹ Strong sectional feeling was also an important factor in the situation as the chief opposition to Radicalism came from the river counties of Missouri, the former Whig stronghold and the region of conservatism.⁶² Staunch advocates of Radical policies in all sections of the state supported strongly the rigid enforcement of the test oath for the clergy and unsparingly denounced all efforts to evade the law.⁶³

The more moderate among the Radicals watched with increasing concern the rapid spread of opposition to their party and to its program. Some of them began seriously to question the advisability of attempting to enforce the constitutional provisions, others frankly advocated an early amendment to the fundamental law which would repeal the obnoxious oath in so far as the clergy were concerned. During the earlier part of the struggle over the ratification of the Constitution, certain powerful leaders in the Radical party, notably Senators Brown and Henderson, had opposed its adoption but their opposition had been officially withdrawn during the campaign.⁶⁴

⁶¹Quoted from the *Springfield Journal*, in the *Missouri Statesman*, September 15, 1865.

⁶²This excludes, of course, the city of St. Louis where the Radicals found scant sympathy and little support. "The returned rebels, bushwhackers, robbers, and murderers of Boone, Callaway, and other rebel counties on the river—these are the men who are coming to the rescue when these arch traitors are arrested for violating the Constitution." Quoted from the *Missouri Journal*, in the *Missouri Statesman*, September 15, 1865.

⁶³*Holt County Sentinel*, September 15, 1865; *Louisiana True Flag*, September 9, September 15, September 23, 1865.

⁶⁴"Both before and since the adoption of the new Constitution," it was claimed, "the rebel conservative leaders and press have counselled and advised violent opposition to many of its most important provisions. The whole of what is termed the Conservative element of the State has been urged to set at defiance plain provisions of the Constitution, and that element has been thoroughly imbued with the idea that the new Constitution was of no force or validity whatever." Quoted from the *True Flag*, September 23, 1865.

⁶⁵See the *Missouri Statesman*, April 21, 1865; the *Missouri Democrat*, April 24, 28, May 3, 1865; *Missouri Republican*, May 10, 1865.

During the autumn of 1865, however, in the period of attempted or of actual enforcement of the oath of loyalty some of these former opponents incurred the hostility of the Radical machine by proposing amendments to the constitution providing for the repeal of the test oath for the clergy. The leader in this movement was Senator Benjamin Gratz Brown, who already had fallen into disfavor with the spokesmen of Radicalism in the State. In an open letter to Governor Fletcher, Brown expressed clearly the attitude of an increasingly large number of the more independent Radicals toward the oath of loyalty. "I am devoted to civil and religious liberty on principle," he wrote, "and cannot consent to violations of either, no matter how dear they may be to the ruling prejudices of the times; and it is the initial of such infractions that should be opposed, for when once hedged about by other interests, and connected, even in the imagination, with political power, they become difficult to uproot."⁶⁵ A prominent St. Louis clergyman, Henry A. Nelson, a Radical of like views, complained to the governor⁶⁶ that the oath touched directly upon what many believed to be their liberty of conscience and involved other considerations than the question of disloyalty.⁶⁷ Senator John B. Henderson, whose opinion on the question had remained somewhat vague, characterized the oath for the clergy as "unwise" but did not openly advocate its repeal.⁶⁸ His aggressively apologetic attitude satisfied neither Radicals nor Conservatives and resulted in the thorough distrust of Henderson by both groups.

Nor did the oath of loyalty lack advocates among certain of the clergy. Formal endorsement was given at several religious conferences held throughout the State. Most of these gatherings styled themselves as Conventions or Conferences of "loyal" ministers and declared their adherence to the very letter of the Constitution. Some of these meetings

⁶⁵For the full text of the letter, see W. M. Leftwich: *Martyrdom in Missouri*, vol. II, pp. 323-324.

⁶⁶*Ibid.* p. 325.

⁶⁷*Missouri Statesman*, October 6, 1865.

⁶⁸*St. Joseph Herald*, November 3, 1865.

were held in counties where the test oath was openly opposed, others in localities where public sentiment supported it. The clergy who dominated the conferences regarded the activity of those who sought the repeal of the oath as a malicious attack on the welfare of the State and pledged their aid in a stringent enforcement of all law as the only certain way of counteracting the dangerous activity of the Conservatives.⁶⁹

The adjourned session of the General Assembly, convening shortly after the decision in the Cummings case, was under the thorough control of a large Radical majority in both houses. The message of Governor Fletcher contained several recommendations of importance for the consideration of the party. In regard to the test oath for the clergy, Fletcher was content merely to summarize the situation and to declare that "the future good of the State requires that the question of the right of the people to make it (the oath of loyalty) be now definitely settled by the Supreme Court of the United States."⁷⁰ The chief executive advocated that the legislature submit an amendment to the constitution which would exempt from the requirements of the test oath all persons who held stock in private corporations as well as all professors and teachers in colleges and schools not supported in any way by the nation, state, or locality.⁷¹ There was a striking difference between the tone of the governor's speeches during the summer and early autumn of 1865 and the rather conciliatory attitude of his message. Events were soon to show, however, that he had misjudged Radical feeling. Despite the somewhat widespread ferment in the State over the oath of loyalty, the Radical leaders in the Legislature and elsewhere showed no inclination whatever to modify its provisions or to support any program which might

⁶⁹Detailed accounts of these meetings may be found in the *Missouri Democrat*, November 3, 7, 8, 1865; *True Flag*, September 9, 30, 1865; W. M. Leftwich, *opp. cit.* vol. I, p. 368; R. S. Duncan, *opp. cit.* p. 689-90.

⁷⁰*House Journal*, Adj. Session, 23rd Gen. Assembly, (Jefferson City, 1865-6), p. 21.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

endanger their supremacy and political power.⁷³ The unenthusiastic response to his suggestion must early have convinced Fletcher that he was no longer a factor of considerable importance in the affairs of his party.⁷³

Soon after convening, a special committee on the Constitution was appointed in each House to consider all motions, bills, or resolutions concerning the constitution, and any proposed amendments to it.⁷⁴ With an ample majority of Radicals on each of these committees, a feeling of security prevailed in their ranks. The Conservatives, hopelessly outnumbered and outvoted, endeavored persistently to annoy and to irritate the Radicals by various resolutions and bills. The resolution of their leader in the House, Charles P. Johnson, of St. Louis, which proposed to abrogate by constitutional amendment the test oath for preachers, teachers, and lawyers was postponed from time to time by the Radicals, until within a few days of the close of the session when it suffered a pre-emptory defeat.⁷⁵ All proposals made to change or amend the whole or any part of the Constitution were alike fruitless.

In the prolonged and controversial debates on the Conservative measures, numerous manifestations of open hostility toward the clergy were in evidence. Johnson's appeal for a constitutional amendment repealing the test oath met with strong opposition. "No class of people between heaven and earth, or outside of heaven or hell," declared Colonel Babcoke, a Radical legislator, "deserve the curse of God more than disloyal ministers and no class deserve sympathy less than this class. If they can not take the oath, they should go and seek a home elsewhere..... I never want to see that clause amended which requires ministers to take the oath. I want to see it stand until the heavens fall.

⁷³*Missouri Democrat*, November 6, 1865.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, November 8, 1865.

⁷⁵*House Journal*, pp. 6, 8, 27, *Senate Journal*, pp. 8, 21.

⁷⁶*Journal House*, pp. 74, 75, 158, 167, 178, 274, 296, 359, 412, 420, 830, 831, 907. See also, *An Authentic History of the Radical Legislature*, (St. Louis, 1866), pp. 4-5.

I never want a rebel preacher to have the right to vote in this State or anywhere else."⁷⁶ Scant sympathy was shown toward clergymen who could not or would not take the oath of loyalty, and the attitude of the Radicals in the Legislature was that if ministers would not conform to the requirements of the constitution, they should abandon preaching and "step down from their pulpits which many are not fit to occupy."⁷⁷ "I propose to stop just where we are," exclaimed a Radical leader early in 1866, "and to hold on to what we have and not to yield one inch of a correct position to these turbulent gentlemen. I propose to plant myself on the platform that none but loyal men shall rule this state; that rebels shall remain for the present just where they have placed themselves; and, moreover, that all men shall respect the law."⁷⁸ Conservatives in the state who watched with doubtful hope the proceedings of the Legislature soon became convinced that it was futile to expect a change in Radical policy. Interest and concern in the Cummings case, therefore, were revived.

The remaining weeks of 1865 constituted a period of comparative quiet. Shortly after the decision in the Cummings case, it became known that an appeal would be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States. The uncertainty and doubt which came soon to exist in regard to what would be the attitude of that tribunal toward the oath of loyalty hindered the Radicals in their attempts to formulate any very definite policy regarding its enforcement. It may be said that, during the fall of 1865, some ministers could and did take the oath in those localities where, for various reasons, such action was either necessary or prudent. Others refused to subscribe to it, or were not required to do so, and in either case public sentiment in the community supported their action. Several were arrested, indicted, and later brought to trial for failure to obey the provisions of the constitution.

⁷⁶Quoted from *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁷⁷J. W. McMillen: *Amending the Constitution*, pp. 9-12. Pugh Collection. (St. Louis, 1866).

⁷⁸Quoted from *Ibid.*, p. 15.

It is extremely difficult to estimate with accuracy even the approximate number of clergymen of all denominations against whom the law was enforced in the period before March, 1866. Despite the pretentious assertion by a pronounced opponent of the oath "that hundreds of priests and preachers were indicted, arrested, and tried in the civil courts for preaching the Gospel," such procedure apparently was rather infrequently followed.⁷⁹ It seems evident that in approximately twenty-eight counties some thirty-six indictments were returned against ministers.⁸⁰

⁷⁹W. M. Leftwich, *opp. cit.* vol. II, p. 341. Much of the prevailing literature on the subject is highly controversial and partisan. *Christian Advocate*, May 24, 1866.

⁸⁰The counties, together with the names of the ministers, who were indicted and arrested, include: Bollinger, Reuben Watts; Buchanan, W. M. Leftwich, R. H. Weller, two unnamed Catholic priests; Carroll, W. C. Ligon, G. T. Kinnaird, T. A. Gaines, two others; Cass, A. H. Dean; Chariton, W. Penn; Clay, James Duvall, Isaac Odell, Allan Sisk; Clinton, J. A. Hughes; Cole, W. A. Miller; Cooper, James Morton; Daviess, B. F. Kenny; Gentry, James Ragan; Jackson, M. M. Pugh; Jefferson, J. O. Williams, D. J. Marquis; Knox, W. Newland; Lewis, W. A. Tarwater; Lincoln, W. H. Vardeman; Livingston, J. J. Hogan, J. D. Vincil; Madison, two unnamed ministers; Marion, J. H. Luther, W. N. Cronin; Monroe, W. J. Patrick; Montgomery, M. L. Eads; Phelps, one Catholic priest; Pike, J. A. Cummings; Ray, Isaac Odell, Allan Sisk; Saline, A. P. Williams; Scott, L. F. Aspley; Shelby, R. N. T. Holliday; Jesse Faubion, A. P. Williams; St. Charles, R. P. Farris. There were several others, perhaps some fourteen, "who had trials of cruel mockings, yea, of bonds and imprisonment" but about whom the writer could find no conclusive evidence. An earlier estimate maintains that one hundred indictments were pending at one time in Missouri. See *Encyclopaedia of Missouri History*, Vol. V., p. 170. An incomplete classification according to the religious denominations affected, indicates that indictments were filed against fifteen ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; eight Baptists; seven Catholic priests; two Presbyterians; one Episcopalian, one Christian. There were, of course, additional clergymen whose denomination is not known. For additional evidence see Leftwich, *opp. cit.* Vol. I, pp. 322-328, 334-337, 349-352; Vol. II, pp. 349-352, 356-357, 367-368, 374-378, 386-389, 398-409, 411-422. Lewis, *opp. cit.* pp. 212-213; Duncan, *opp. cit.* pp. 242, 618, 791, 927. J. J. Hogan: *On the Mission in Missouri*, (Kansas City, 1892) pp. 124-133; *Missouri Statesman*, September 29, November 24, 1865; *Northwest Conservator*, September 30, November 25, 1865. *Christian Advocate*, February 1, March 18, 1866; *People's Tribune*, October 25, 1865; *Hannibal Courier*, September 15, 1865. It was estimated on March 1, 1866, that from six hundred to one thousand ministers were preaching without first taking the oath. *Christian Advocate*, January 4, 18, March 1, 1866. In the enforcement of the law, special attention seems to have been given to Southern Methodist, Catholic, and Baptist clergy. The oath met its bitterest opposition from the southern Methodists and Catholics, *Christian Advocate*, October 10, 1866. The Catholics believed that the oath had been aimed directly at them, J. G. Shea, *History of the Catholic Church*, (New York, 1892) vol. IV, pp. 611-12.

In some instances, arrests were made, but it was not difficult to secure bond and arrange to have the case considered at a subsequent session of the circuit court so that no situation equalled in interest or in significance the case of Father Cummings. It becomes obvious, therefore, that only a small percentage of the total number of clergymen in Missouri were "persecuted," although the methods of the most extreme among the Radicals and their written and spoken words aroused in conservative ranks a marked and definite hostility to the entire Radical regime.⁸¹ The test oath constituted, in the main, a rather embarrassing problem for the Radical leaders. It became increasingly difficult to defend it, to say nothing of formulating a policy for its enforcement which, if adopted, could hardly be made effective in the face of local opposition. The conservatives systematically kept in the foreground the question of the constitutionality of the oath, and, in general, were rather successful in forcing the Radicals into a position of defense or of apology for it. Such was the situation in March, 1866, when the case came before the Supreme Court of the United States.

By this time, the salient features of the controversy were well known. The Cummings case had attracted interest and attention in many parts of the United States and a distinguished array of counsel, comprising David Dudley Field, Reverdy Johnson, and Montgomery Blair, appeared in behalf of the plaintiff in error.⁸² The State of Missouri

⁸¹It should be noted that no figures are available which show the actual number of ministers who withdrew from their calling either because they could not take the oath or because they had theoretical reasons for refusing to take it, the latter being based, in large measure, on the ground that the oath interfered with religious freedom and the freedom of conscience. The clergy who had been arrested and released on bond continued to exercise their functions. *Christian Advocate*, March 15, 1866.

⁸²Field and Johnson had participated in the Milligan case, which was argued about the same time (1866). 4 Wallace 2. Johnson had taken a leading part in *Ex parte Garland*. (1866) 4 Wallace 333. See *supra*, p. 42, B. C. Steiner, *Life of Reverdy Johnson*, (Baltimore, 1914), pp. 116-17; H. M. Field, *Life of David Dudley Field*, (New York, 1898), pp. 191-97. Blair, the brother of Frank P. Blair had long been prominent in national politics. As a resident of Missouri, for several years prior to the war he was thoroughly familiar with the political situation in the state.

was represented by George P. Strong and Senator John B. Henderson. Strong was one of the leading lawyers of St. Louis, a member of the convention which adopted the test oath, and generally regarded as the ablest, if not the most vehement, of its advocates.⁸³

The case of Cummings vs. The State of Missouri was argued before the court on March 15, 1866.⁸⁴ In presenting the argument for Cummings, Field undertook to show that the provisions of the Missouri constitution which imposed the oath as a condition of preaching or teaching as a minister of the Gospel, were in direct conflict with that part of the constitution of the United States which prohibited the States from passing any bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law.⁸⁵ He maintained that to deprive Cummings by retroactive legislation of the right or privilege, whichever it might be called, of preaching as a Christian minister which he had hitherto enjoyed, constituted, in effect, a punishment.⁸⁶ Defining as an *ex post facto* law, any law which "renders an act punishable in a manner in which it was not punishable when it was committed," Field concluded that the test oath clearly was *ex post facto* legislation.⁸⁷ In the second place, it was argued by Field that "it was unquestionably beyond the competency of the State of Missouri, by any legislation, either organic or statutory, to enact, in so many words, . . . that because Mr. Cummings, on some occasion, after it was made punishable, manifested such sympathy (with the rebellion) that he shall, without trial and conviction, be deprived of his profession. It must be equally incompetent to enact that all those Christian ministers who have thus acted shall be thus deprived." The test oath, therefore, was unconstitutional because it constituted a bill of attainder, that is,

⁸³The Legislature of Missouri appropriated funds to pay the fees of the counsel who were appointed by the governor to represent the state. *Senate Journal*, Adj. Session, 23 Gen. Assembly, pp. 359, 362. *House Journal*, *Ibid*, p. 446.

⁸⁴(1866) 4 Wallace 277.

⁸⁵Art. I, sect. 10.

⁸⁶(1866) 4 Wallace 284-86.

⁸⁷*Ibid*, 286.

it inflicted punishment without judicial trial.⁸⁸ Finally, both Field and Johnson denied that the provisions concerning the oath of loyalty could be defended on the ground of police power regulations because they declared that the real object of the test oath was to affect the person and not the calling, and because the requirements of the constitution were not regulations intended to secure fit occupants for responsible positions but rather to mete out punishment to certain individuals by excluding them from some of the benefits and privileges of society.⁸⁹

For the State of Missouri, Strong contended that it was a reserved and exclusive right of a state to determine the terms and the conditions upon which members of the political body could exercise their various callings and pursuits.⁹⁰ The provisions of the Missouri constitution concerning the oath of loyalty were designed, said Strong, "to regulate the municipal affairs of the State, that is, to prescribe who . . . shall mold the character of the people by becoming their public teachers."⁹¹ He emphasized the view that every private calling was subject to such regulations as the state might see fit to impose.⁹² The purpose of the oath of loyalty was not to punish past offenses but to provide for the future safety of the state by requiring that only those should enjoy the elective franchise, the offices, the positions of influence in the nature of public callings who had been loyal. It was denied both by Strong and by Henderson that the oath imposed a bill of pains and penalties or was *ex post facto* in character.⁹³ Senator Henderson, while admitting the test oath was extraordinary, perhaps unprecedented, endeavored to show the necessity for it.⁹⁴ The oath, he contended, had been called into existence by most unusual circumstances and

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 287-288.

⁸⁹*Brief of David D. Field and Reverdy Johnson*, pp. 5-7, in *File Copies of Briefs*, Vol. V, 1866, in Library of the United States Supreme Court.

⁹⁰4 Wallace 293.

⁹¹*Ibid.*

⁹²*Ibid.*, p. 294.

⁹³*Ibid.*, pp. 293-94, 297-305.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 305-307.

conditions, and he drew a very striking picture of the struggle for ascendancy in Missouri between the friends and the enemies of the Union. But his discussion of the situation was confined entirely to events which occurred before the close of the war, when a stringent oath of loyalty might have been reasonably regarded as a war measure and thus endured.⁹⁵

Hardly had the case been presented before the Supreme Court when it was rumored from Washington that the oath would be declared unconstitutional by that high tribunal.⁹⁶ The conservatives, and, indeed, all the opponents of the oath of loyalty, felt a singular concern in the Cummings case because the test oath was commonly regarded as the key to the radical arch. A decision favorable to the conservatives would be a signal achievement toward the downfall of the Radical organization in Missouri; with this brightening prospect before them, the Conservatives, or the Conservative Unionists, as they were soon to be designated, began to take heart.⁹⁷ They were, therefore, bitterly disappointed when the Supreme Court adjourned in May, 1866, with the order that the case be held under advisement and continued to the next term.

This action indicated that no final decision could be expected before the end of the year and that the "iniquities" of the oath of loyalty would receive a prominent place in the issues of the state campaign of 1866. It became the policy

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 306. "The merchant in his store room talked treason to his customers; the school teacher installed its poison into the minds of his pupils; the attorney harangued juries in praise of those whose virtue demanded the great charters of English liberty, and denounced the spirit of this age for its submission to usurpation and tyranny. And even the minister of heaven, forgetting of what world his Master's Kingdom was, went forth to perform the part allotted to him in this great work of iniquity." As a matter of fact, test oaths for certain persons and offices were required in Missouri as early as 1862, although none equalled in severity the oath of loyalty in the new constitution.

⁹⁶It will be observed that many failed properly to distinguish between the constitutionality of the oath for certain professional groups and its constitutionality for voters and office holders. It was hoped and believed in conservative circles that the court would declare unconstitutional the entire oath of loyalty and this idea became quite prevalent during the months of 1866. Certain later writers have implied that the oath was declared void in every aspect.

⁹⁷*Missouri Statesman*, April 6, 18, 1866. *Liberty Tribune*, May 18, 1866. *St. Joseph Herald*, April 7, May 5, 1866. *St. Louis Republican*, April 3, 1866.

of the Conservatives to reaffirm emphatically that the test oath would be set aside by the Supreme Court. This idea was advanced by their leaders with persistent reiteration, amplified by much ingenuity and somewhat less learning.⁹⁸ General Blair, during the canvass, directed impressive onslaughts against the test oath and proclaimed with eloquence on every occasion that the Supreme Court had decided it to be unconstitutional which information of the court's action he had received from one of the Judges.⁹⁹ John Hogan, one of Missouri's two Conservative congressmen, made a similar prophecy, based partially upon evidence which only the most enthusiastic of his followers could accept¹⁰⁰ and partially upon the views of Reverdy Johnson.¹⁰¹

These conservative declarations proved highly irritating to the Radical leaders and brusque denials were entered by important elements in the Radical organization.¹⁰² "There has been no decision of the questions involved," wrote,

⁹⁸*St. Joseph Herald*, May 5, June 9, 1866.

⁹⁹*Missouri Democrat*, June 4, 1866. This information was alleged to have been given Blair by Mr. Justice Grier. *St. Joseph Herald*, September 21, 1866. Assuming that Blair was correct, it is interesting to note that at present the Court exercises every care to prevent advance information of its decisions from becoming known. It would be considered highly indiscreet and improper to violate the rule of secrecy regarding pending decisions. This policy, apparently, was not strictly observed by the Court prior to or during the period under discussion. For examples of the earlier practice, see R. E. Cushman: *History of the Supreme Court in Resumé*, 7 *Minnesota Law Review*, 305, (1923). "It appears that as early as December, 1866, the *New York World*, the *Washington Chronicle*, and other papers announced that the constitutionality of the iron clad oath case had been decided by the Judges in conference, by a majority of five to four against the Radicals." Denials were promptly made by other papers. Charles Warren: *The Supreme Court in United States History*, (Boston, 1922), Vol. III, p. 172 N.

¹⁰⁰"I tell you that the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that the oath of Missouri was unconstitutional. You have not seen it published; you will say that the Court has not made its decision; but I know that opinion was made, and I have it from the very best of sources. I have it from the Judges of the Supreme Court themselves." Quoted in *St. Louis Dispatch*, May 5, 1866, from a speech in St. Louis.

¹⁰¹*Missouri Statesman*, June 8, 1866, prints the letter from Johnson to Hogan. See also *Liberty Tribune*, May 18, 1866. It was alleged that Chief Justice Chase was responsible for the delay of the decision because of his desire to assist the Radicals of Missouri in the campaign of 1866, and to insure the election to the Senate of a Radical.

¹⁰²See, for example, the *Missouri Democrat* for May and June, 1866. J. B. Henderson to W. P. Harrison in *St. Louis News*, June 14, 1866.

Senator Henderson. "So far as the voters oath is concerned there has been no argument in court, and can be none, for no case involving it has ever come here. I have no doubt at all of the legal validity of the voters oath whatever the court may think of the constitutionality of the oath so far as it effects professions, or rather the right to pursue them. I have no idea that any member of the court will hesitate for a moment to admit the right of a state to fix arbitrarily the qualifications of its voters."¹⁰⁸

Indeed, during the summer and autumn of 1866, spasmodic attempts to enforce the provisions of the constitution continued in those portions of the state where the Radicals did not share the Conservatives' plausible and attractive view toward the expected opinion of the Supreme Court. There was apparently no very definite program upon which the Radicals had agreed but here and there indictments were found and an occasional arrest made. In view of the widespread unpopularity of the oath of loyalty for ministers, it can be questioned whether the Radicals actually gained by attempting enforcement upon even a most limited scale. The oath required of voters and of candidates for office was obviously of great political significance in the campaign of 1866 but little practical importance was attached to the oath for the clergy. Whatever the theoretical value and satisfaction which might accrue to the state from the knowledge that it possessed a completely "loyal" clergy was more than offset by the difficulties involved and the antagonisms aroused by a partial enforcement of the clauses in Article II of the Constitution.

In conservative strongholds, the oath of loyalty for ministers continued to be systematically ignored. The completeness with which the oath was disregarded was known to all. "Not one of the Catholic bishops, priests or ministers of any other denomination who preaches in St. Louis has been indicted in that county. Yet they preach every day and

¹⁰⁸Henderson to J. P. Whitney in *St. Louis News*, June 25, 1866.

Sunday, too."¹⁰⁴ A conservative leader in the interior of the State informed a political associate that it was confidently expected that the Supreme Court would declare all provisions of the test oath to be in conflict with the federal constitution, adding that "they are now disregarded in one-third of the State. In Boone, Howard, Callaway, Randolph, St. Louis, they are of no force."¹⁰⁵

In fifteen counties, however, some effort was made to carry out the constitutional restrictions. Indictments were filed against approximately thirty-seven clergymen, and occasional jail sentences of very short duration were imposed.¹⁰⁶ The latter were due to the inability of some min-

¹⁰⁴Quoted from *Missouri Statesman*, May 11, 1866. See also De Smet; opp. cit. Vol. IV, p. 1462. "We have a great lever, public opinion. We know its power feel its potency. The new Constitution has shriveled before it; it is powerless in St. Louis. No preacher there has been dragged from the pulpit and incarcerated in dungeons; there are not ten ministers in that city who have taken the oath, yet they dare not arrest them," quoted from Blair's speech, at Richmond, October 22, 1866, *Conservator*, October 27, 1866.

¹⁰⁵J. W. Henry to John F. Snyder, June 21, 1866, in *Snyder Papers*: "There is a strong prejudice in this county (Callaway) against ministers taking the oath; and it is doubtful whether any man, who has done so, could get an audience if the facts were known." C. Babcock to D. R. McNally, *Christian Advocate*, January 11, 1866. See also *House Misc. Docs.*, No. 39, 40 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 51-53.

¹⁰⁶The counties and the names of the ministers, where it has been possible to ascertain them, include: Andrew, Jesse Bird; Cape Girardeau, O'Regan, D. H. Murphy, P. A. Ryan, McGerry; Cooper, Hillner; Gentry, J. B. Christie, J. A. Mumpower; Jefferson, W. G. Walker, W. O. Gibson, Henry Brockhager, D. J. Marquis; Johnson, A. Munson, D. H. Murphy, three priests; Knox, Joseph Metcalf, Lewis, James Penn, A. Munroe; Linn, W. Perkins, W. E. Dockery; Madison, J. S. Frazier; Marion, H. A. Bourland, J. S. Green, twelve others; Monteau, W. M. Robertson; Montgomery, B. H. Spencer, S. W. Cope, O'Neill. The denominations are: Methodist, south, eight; Catholic, eight; Baptist, seven; Presbyterian, two; unknown, twenty-four. Leftwich, opp. cit. Vol. I, pp. 311-13, 415-16; Vol. II, pp. 352-54; 403-05; 409-10; 413-14. *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1866, pp. 515, 525. *History of Marion County*, (St. Louis, 1884) pp. 558-560. *History of Shelby County*, (St. Louis, 1884), p. 112. *Missouri Statesman*, May 11, June 11, August 10, 17, 1866; *Christian Advocate*, March 15, June 26, July 4, November 21; *Missouri Presbyterian*, in *Ibid*; *Linneus Union*, July 12, 1866; *Palmyra Spectator*, August 1, 1866; *Sedalia Press*, June 21, 1866. A group of conservative leaders informed Johnson that "not less than fifty ministers of various denominations are now under indictment or conviction for having been guilty of the crime of preaching the Gospel without having taken the oath * * * many took an active part in support of the Federal Government throughout the war but refused to sacrifice their religious freedom and become the slaves of a political faction," *Statement of Missouri Conservatives*, August, 1866, in *Johnson Papers*.

isters promptly to secure persons to sign a bond, and, in a few cases, to their refusal to do so.

The election of 1866 was a triumph for the Radicals. The Conservative Unionists were overwhelmed and the defeat brought dismay and despair to their leaders. In the new Legislature the Radicals secured a majority so large that it was difficult to control.¹⁰⁷ Supreme and secure behind the bulwarks of test oath and registry act, the Radical organization paid scant heed to conservative and "rebel" complaints. It became obvious that it would be difficult to secure a party endorsement for a policy which many powerful Radical leaders were certain to believe was but the first step in the breaking down of party supremacy. Nevertheless, Governor Fletcher in his message to the General Assembly took occasion strongly to urge that body to submit an amendment to the Constitution repealing the requirement of the oath of loyalty for lawyers, ministers, and teachers. "This section," he declared, "has not prevented disloyal persons from pursuing the avocations of lawyers and school teachers. *Bishops, priests, and ministers teach and preach without taking the required oath.*"¹⁰⁸ The example offered by the disregard of unnecessary laws, especially by so intelligent and influential a class of citizens, begets a general disposition to exercise individual discretion in obeying or enforcing laws—a disposition which leads to anarchy and impunity in crime. This is one of the many oaths required by our Constitution and laws which is unnecessary, and which only familiarize the mind with the taking of oaths, thereby lessening their solemnity and impressiveness, and inducing perjury by creating a motive to swear falsely."¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷Missouri Statesman, January 4, 1867.

¹⁰⁸The italics are the writer's.

¹⁰⁹Senate Journal, 24th General Assembly, (Jefferson City, 1867), pp. 15-16. Fletcher's opposition to the oath for ministers had not abated during 1866. In July, he wrote to Father O'Regan at Cape Girardeau that "the Constitution of the State only permits me to interfere 'after conviction.' I regret that it is so, as it would have been a real pleasure to me to relieve from further annoyance, from the indictments against him, the venerable and worthy Father McGerry, and whom you may assure I will do as soon as can be done legally." Quoted in *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1866, p. 525.

Despite the fact that in both houses the Radicals easily controlled the Committees on Constitutional Amendments, efforts were made early in the session to secure approval of a proposed amendment which would repeal outright the test oath provisions for lawyers, teachers, and ministers.¹¹⁰ It was obvious that there would be little chance of such an amendment passing either house and the efforts made were received in a very perfunctory manner. Indeed, further agitation of constitutional change was rendered unnecessary by the announcement, on January 14, 1867, of the long awaited decision in the Cummings case.¹¹¹

In an elaborate opinion delivered by Mr. Justice Field, the Court held that certain of the clauses in the second article of the Missouri constitution constituted, first, a bill of attainder within the meaning of the provision of the federal constitution; second, that they violated that section of the Federal Constitution prohibiting the passage by the States of an *ex post facto* law. The Court declared that the oath was, "for its severity, without any precedent that we can discover."¹¹² While admitting that the States could create qualifications or attach conditions for practicing certain callings, "the disabilities created by the constitution of Missouri must be regarded as penalties—they constitute punishment."¹¹³ Defining a bill of attainder as a legislative act which inflicts punishment without a judicial trial, Mr. Field declared that "the existing clauses presume the guilt of the priests and clergymen, and adjudge the deprivation of their right to teach or preach unless the presumption be first removed by their expurgatory oath; in other words, they assume the guilt and adjudge the punishment conditionally."¹¹⁴ The Court rejected the contention that a bill of attainder could be directed only against individuals by name,

¹¹⁰Journal Senate, p. 42. Journal House, pp. 40, 61. Missouri Statesman, January 18, 1867.

¹¹¹(1866) 4 Wallace 277.

¹¹²Ibid, p. 318.

¹¹³Ibid, p. 320.

¹¹⁴Ibid, pp. 323-325.

and held that it could be directed, as in the Cummings case, against a whole class.

The Court then proceeded to enter into an examination of the *ex post facto* qualities of the oath of loyalty.¹¹⁵ An *ex post facto* law was defined as "a law which imposes a punishment for an act which was not punishable at the time it was committed; or imposes additional punishment to that then prescribed; or changes the rules of evidence by which less or different testimony is sufficient to convict than formerly was required."¹¹⁶ In the view of the Court, the clauses in the Missouri constitution were aimed at past acts and not at future acts.¹¹⁷ Some of the acts to which the expurgatory oath was directed were not offenses at the time they were committed, and the clauses prescribing penalties for such acts, were within the terms of the definition of an *ex post facto* law because they "imposed a punishment for an act which was not punishable at the time it was committed."¹¹⁸ The requirements of the test oath imposed also an increase in the penalty prescribed for such of the acts specified as at the time constituted public offenses, and were thus *ex post facto*.¹¹⁹ Finally, in assuming the parties were guilty and in calling upon them to establish their innocence, the provisions altered the rules of evidence, universally recognized.¹²⁰ Briefly restated, then, the substance of the opinion of the Court was that Mr. Cummings was punished by deprivation of his profession, for an act not punishable when it was committed, and by a legislative instead of a judicial proceeding.

In the opinion delivered by Mr. Justice Field, Justices Wayne, Grier, Nelson and Clifford concurred.¹²¹ There was a vigorous dissenting opinion filed by Mr. Justice Miller, on behalf of himself, Chief Justice Chase, and Justices Swayne

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 326-327.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 326.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 326.

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 327.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 328.

¹²⁰*Ibid.*

¹²¹The four concurring justices had been appointed prior to the war.

and Davis.¹²² In the view of the dissenting judge, the test oath was desirable as a protection to the country and to the state against disloyal men. They regarded it as fixing a proper qualification for the practice of the professions and they denied that the constitutional provision was either a bill of attainder or an *ex post facto* law within the meaning of the federal constitution.¹²³

The decision in the Cummings case was one of three very important opinions announced by the Court in December, 1866, and January 1867, the others being *ex parte* Milligan and *ex parte* Garland.¹²⁴ In the former case, it was unanimously held that military commissions and tribunals could not be instituted by the president in time of war in localities where the civil courts were open, while a bare majority of the Court also declared that Congress had no power to establish such bodies under similar conditions.¹²⁵ In *ex parte* Garland, the Court declared unconstitutional a statute of Congress which required a Federal test oath before an attorney would be permitted to practice in the United States Courts.¹²⁶ This statute was held to contravene the constitutional prohibitions of bills of attainder and *ex post facto* laws.¹²⁷

The Radicals, already supreme in both houses of Congress and regarding with confidence their struggle with the executive branch of the government, were highly indignant and resentful at the attitude of the Supreme Court. The conservative aspect of these decisions indicated that other radical projects of reconstruction were facing a similar fate and bitter resentment blazed forth against the Court. Severe and unmeasured attacks on the tribunal appeared,

¹²²(1866) 4 Wallace 382. This opinion applied both to the Cummings case and to *ex parte* Garland. All of the dissenting judges were appointees of President Lincoln.

¹²³*Ibid.*, pp. 386, 389-392. See also Warren: *opp. cit.* Vol. III, p. 174.

¹²⁴(1866) 4 Wallace 2, 333.

¹²⁵W. E. Dunning: *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction*, (New York, 1904), pp. 45-49; Cushman, *opp. cit.*, p. 289.

¹²⁶Warren: *opp. cit.* vol. III, p. 172.

¹²⁷Dunning: *Reconstruction, Political and Economic*, (New York, 1907), p. 89.

both in and out of Congress and statutes were advocated which sought to curtail the appellate jurisdiction of the Court.¹²⁸ Certain Radical leaders demanded the abolition of the Supreme Court, others declared for constitutional amendments limiting its original jurisdiction.¹²⁹

When the news of the decision in the Cummings case reached Missouri, the conservatives hailed it with obvious joy. To them, the decision displayed admirably the complete freedom of the Court from the partisan bias of the legislative branch of the government. In the first moments of rejoicing, the assertion was confidentially made that the oath of loyalty in its entirety had been declared unconstitutional and that "the Radical regime of trickery, despotism, and fraud" had received its death blow.¹³⁰ An examination of the decision, however, warranted no such optimistic conclusion. The oath of loyalty, as a matter of fact, had been set aside in so far as it applied to clergymen, and, by similar reasoning, to lawyers and to teachers although the latter classes were not specifically mentioned in the opinion of the Supreme Court.¹³¹ The decision in no way concerned the test oath as a qualification of suffrage, of office holding or any other political privilege.

The Radicals of Missouri saw in the decision but another manifestation on the part of the Court to defeat the will of the people; a process already carried too far by the president and his supporters.¹³² Criticism of the judges who rendered the majority opinion was unsparing. This earlier and some-

¹²⁸Dunning: *Essays*, pp. 121-122. For examples of the criticisms directed against the Court, see Warren: *opp. cit.* vol. III, pp. 168-176.

¹²⁹Dunning: *opp. cit.* pp. 121-122. E. P. Overholzer: *A History of the United States since the Civil War*, (New York, 1917), vol. I, pp. 463-466.

¹³⁰Missouri Statesman, January 25, 1867. *Liberty Tribune*, February 15, 1867. *Christian Advocate*, January 20, 1867.

¹³¹A test case involving the constitutionality of the oath for voters had been commenced in the fall of 1865, by Frank P. Blair. It had not yet been decided by the Supreme Court of Missouri when the decision in the Cummings case was announced. Blair, when the Missouri court decided against him, appealed to the United States Supreme Court. By an equally divided court, the decision of the lower tribunal, upholding the oath for voters, was allowed to stand. *Blair v. Ridgely*, (1867) 41 Mo. 63.

¹³²St. Louis Democrat, January 16, 1867.

what depressing reaction of the Radicals to the decision was soon succeeded by a frank realization that, after all, no effective blow had been struck. So long as the oath of loyalty for voters remained in force and was administered by aggressively partizan Radicals, there was little to fear from the opposition of a relatively small professional group. Had no such decision been rendered, the restrictions upon preachers and attorneys would probably have been removed as a matter of policy. "The war is now over," admitted a prominent Radical journal, "and whether such restrictions were or were not legal and necessary during its continuance, the demand for them no longer exists, and the decision as confined to its legitimate scope and effect, would do but little practical harm."¹³³ Some Radical leaders were alleged to be openly relieved that the troublesome problem had been solved for them by the Supreme Court.¹³⁴

When the decision in the Cummings case was made public, there were pending in the state circuit courts several score of cases which had been continued from time to time awaiting the verdict of the Supreme Court. Eleven circuit judges dismissed at once from the docket all cases involving the oath of loyalty for ministers.¹³⁵ In other instances, the State, through the prosecuting attorneys, entered a *nolle prosequi*, and the defendants were thereupon discharged.¹³⁶ At the sessions of the circuit courts held during the spring of 1867, in all the cases where a continuance had been ordered, dismissals were quietly made.¹³⁷ In October, 1867, the Missouri Supreme Court, in a sweeping decision which involved the oath of loyalty for ministers, lawyers, and teachers, recognized the authoritative force of the Cummings opinion and reversed the decision of a lower court by which a clergyman had been convicted and fined for

¹³³St. Louis Democrat, January 16, 1867.

¹³⁴St. Louis Republican, January 16, 1867.

¹³⁵Liberty Tribune, May 3, 1867.

¹³⁶Leftwich: *opp. cit.* vol. II, p. 412.

¹³⁷For additional evidence, see Leftwich, *opp. cit.* vol. I, p. 313; vol. II, pp. 352, 358, 405, 412; Hogan, *opp. cit.* pp. 147, 152; *History of Marion County*, p. 559; Duncan, *opp. cit.* p. 130; *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1866, p. 525.

preaching without having subscribed to the oath.¹³⁸ An elaborate opinion was given by Justice Holmes who accepted the authority of the Cummings case as establishing the rule in similar cases. The words of the Missouri court, announced eight months after the Cummings decision, brought to an effective close further legal controversy.

Partizan agitation concerning the test oath which had commenced in March, 1865, was thus ended. The meagre success of the constitutional restrictions was obvious both to radical and to conservative. The drastic requirements of the oath had been incorporated into the fundamental law of the State when the Civil War was in progress and a large portion of Missouri was the scene of actual strife. In a somewhat closely divided border state, certain ministers, lawyers, and teachers no doubt had sympathized with and given actual assistance to the Confederacy and their influence was deemed dangerous. It was doubtless contemplated that some time would be required for the complete restoration of peace and public order. To the framers of the constitution of 1865, the question was chiefly a matter of political judgment rather than a legal issue. The members of the convention and those who later voted to ratify the constitution regarded themselves as the loyal and patriotic portion of the body politic, engaged in the important task of saving the State from existing rebellion and future disorder.

¹³⁸(1867) 41 Missouri 339. D. H. Murphy had been indicted in December, 1865, in Cape Girardeau county. A demurrer to the indictment had been overruled and the defendant pleaded not guilty. Upon conviction, he appealed to the Supreme Court. Five other cases were included in the decision concerning Father Murphy of which at least one, P. A. Ryan, involved a minister. *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1867, p. 522. *Christian Advocate*, November 14, 1866. In the reluctant abandonment of its earlier doctrine, the Court sought refuge in plitudinous discourse. A teacher who had been indicted and faced trial for refusing to take the oath while continuing the functions of her office was rescued from her unfortunate predicament when the Court further extended the principle of the Cummings decision so as to include teachers and professors in educational institutions. *State v. Heighland*, (1867) 41 Mo. 388. Finally, the Cummings case was recognized as binding in all cases where the right to exercise any trade, calling, or profession was involved. *State v. Neal*, (1868) 41 Mo. 118. Memories of the "martyrdom" endured by lawyers, preachers, and teachers remained and constituted a favorite and effective theme of Democratic orators for a quarter of a century.

There is no need to question their honesty of purpose despite the verdict on their judgment.

It is equally true that the oath¹³⁸ of loyalty required of clergymen was severe and proscriptive in form and could be made to serve in some instances as a weapon against persons who, although obnoxious to the Radicals, were hardly disloyal. Further, the oath was never popular among influential elements in the Radical party and received constant criticism from them although those who controlled the organization officially supported it.

The enforcement of the test oath showed clearly that among particular communities there was a widespread disregard of the constitutional provisions. The experience of Missouri in this regard indicated the great difficulty of effective enforcement of a state policy, through locally elected agencies, if it stands in direct antithesis to the views of the people whom it affects. From the point of view of equal enforcement, the test oath was a distinct failure.

It has been somewhat of a tradition in Missouri history that the oath of loyalty was the creation of a group of Radical politico-religious fanatics and that it was supported and drastically enforced by a united Radical party, under whose direction a thorough and widespread persecution of innocent men was enthusiastically carried on. So far as can be ascertained, from the admittedly meagre evidence, some eighty-five ministers were indicted, all of whom were released on bond.¹³⁹ A great majority of the cases were never brought to trial, and the proportion of convictions to indictments was absurdly small. Two priests, Father Cummings and Father Murphy, and probably a third, Father Ryan, were tried and fined for preaching without first subscribing to the oath. Reverend A. Munson, Presbyterian, likewise was tried and fined \$500.00.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸No claim whatever is made that the search has been exhaustive.

¹³⁹It was estimated that of the fifteen hundred men in holy orders in Missouri, not one hundredth of them took the oath, but many made no effort to preach. *Christian Advocate*, February 13, 1867.

That the test oath for the clergy was generally regarded as extreme, unjust, and unprecedented by many whose loyalty to the Union could not be questioned will not be gainsaid. That it proved a distinct liability to the Radical party and was a political blunder is evident because the actual operation of the test oath was far less important than what people thought about it and thought about the Radicals for adopting it. But that there was any state-wide and systematic "persecution" of the clergy for the conscious purpose of destroying religious freedom must be regarded as a legend.

MISSOURI IN THE CONFEDERACY*

BY DAVID Y. THOMAS

In the closing days of December, 1860, W. Cooper, commissioner from Alabama, appeared at Jefferson City, Missouri, to consult with the authorities concerning "what is best to be done" by the slave-holding states to meet the "crisis which the action of the black Republicans has forced upon the country."¹ The outgoing governor, R. M. Stewart, received him courteously and sympathetically. The Legislature was to meet in a few days, but as Mr. Cooper wished to hurry back to Montgomery for the meeting of his state convention (January 1) he could not wait. For his accommodation there was an informal meeting of the members of the Legislature, most of whom were in Jefferson City. Mr. Cooper was heard at this meeting and resolutions were adopted to the effect that the matter would receive official attention in due time.

Governor Claiborne F. Jackson, who was inaugurated in January, 1861, was decidedly pro-Southern. The Legislature elected in 1860 was composed of men representing four parties, the Douglas Democrats, the Breckinridge Democrats, the Bell men, and Republicans, but they soon developed three groups—secessionists, unconditional Union and conditional Union men.² Believing that the State was with him Governor Jackson insisted on following the lead of the other Southern states in the calling of a convention. Within a week the Legislature passed a bill setting February 18th as the date for electing the convention and February 28th as the day for its assembling. Meantime several Northern states were offering men and money to the Federal government to aid in sup-

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¹*Rebellion Records, IV, 1, 24-6*

²*Confederate Military History, IX, 16f.*

pressing the movement for secession. In reply to this the Legislature, on motion of George G. Vest, regarded "with the utmost abhorrence the doctrine of coercion" and pledged the people of Missouri to rally to the side of their Southern brethren and to resist the invader at all hazard to the last extremity," the vote being 84 to 74.³

The gauntlet had been thrown down and in the campaign the right and advisability of secession were discussed thoroughly. The Southerners felt confident, but the Unionists went to work and Francis P. Blair kept his "Wide-Awakes" constantly awake and in motion. The result was an overwhelming majority against secession.

The Convention was composed of 99 members, all but 17 of whom were of Southern birth. Fifty-three were natives of Kentucky or Virginia. Only three were Germans. The economic interests of the conventions in South Carolina, Alabama, and the other states of the lower South were wrapped up in slavery. The feelings and natural inclinations of the Missouri Convention were naturally Southern, but many of the members represented people of wealth and social position whose primary interests were not bound to slavery. As one member said: "Feeling is temporary—interest is permanent." Another declared that, owing to their geographical situation, secession and adhesion to the Confederacy would mean annihilation.⁴

The Convention met at Jefferson City and organized, electing Sterling Price, a conditional Union man, president, and then adjourned to meet at St. Louis under the protection, not to say domination, of F. P. Blair.⁵ After reassembling the Convention voted 63 to 53 to hear Mr. L. J. Glenn, commissioner from Georgia, who had come to seek the adhesion of Missouri to the cause of secession. A committee appointed to consider the matter made an adverse report, but this was never formally acted on, the Convention having taken steps binding the State to the Union.

³*Confed. Mil. Hist.*, IX, 17-18.

⁴*Ibid.*, 21.

⁵*Carr, Missouri*, 286.

Before the election for the Convention Jackson made efforts in the Legislature to pass a bill authorizing the governor to organize and arm the militia, but failed. After the Convention met and adjourned to St. Louis another effort failed. However, the activity of Blair and the Germans in St. Louis aroused the Legislature and it passed a bill to create a board of police commissioners for St. Louis, appointive by the governor, giving them absolute control of the police and of the sheriff's officers.⁶ The Southern rights men attempted to re-elect James S. Green to the United States Senate, but failed. The final result was the election of Waldo P. Johnson, who subsequently entered the Confederate Senate. The answer of Blair to the police bill was the turning of his "Wide-Awakes" into a military organization. The answer of the Southern element in St. Louis to this was the organization of the "Minute Men." Both organizations longed for the munitions of war stored in the arsenal but neither dared to seize them. To Lincoln's call for troops to suppress the rebellion Governor Jackson replied that "not a man would the State of Missouri furnish to carry on such an unholy crusade."⁷

He also called the Legislature in special session, sent a commission to Montgomery to ask for guns and mortars with which to reduce the arsenal, and ordered the officers of the militia to assemble their commands. When the guns and ammunition secured from the Confederacy arrived they were taken to Camp Jackson, whereupon Blair and Lyon promptly seized them. The Legislature now passed the long delayed militia bill and authorized the governor "to take such measures as he might deem necessary to repel invasion or put down rebellion" and denounced Blair and Lyon. It also provided a military chest, turning over the school fund and providing for a loan of \$2,000,000. General Price now abandoned the Union and offered his services to Jackson. A conference at St. Louis between the governor and his

⁶*Confed. Mil. Hist.*, IX, 20-1.

⁷*Ibid.*, 29.

supporters and Blair and Lyon resulted in a virtual declaration of war. Jackson now called for 50,000 men of the state militia to repel the attack upon the State. He abandoned Jefferson City, knowing that General Lyon would soon attack it, and repaired to Boonville (June 5) later to Neosho.⁸ The Convention which had adjourned subject to call now reassembled at Jefferson City, declared Jackson deposed (July 30), elected H. R. Gamble governor, dissolved the Legislature, assumed its powers, and continued to exercise them for over a year.

Governor Jackson now visited Richmond to secure aid and to negotiate for the admission of Missouri into the Confederacy. The Confederate government had been watching Missouri with anxious eyes and now (August 7, 1861) Mr. Johnson, of Arkansas, introduced a bill for the admission of Missouri as a state in the Confederacy. Section 1 provided that when the provisional Constitution of the Confederate States was "adopted and ratified by the legally constituted authorities" of the state and the governor transmitted to the President an authentic copy of the proceedings, then the President should announce the fact and Missouri would become a state without any further procedure.⁹ Mr. Campbell, of Mississippi, moved to strike out the above and substitute when ratified by a "convention of the people or a majority of the legal voters," but his motion was lost. Other sections of the act recognized the C. F. Jackson government as the legal government and authorized the President to enter into a military alliance with it pending the admission of Missouri.¹⁰

As soon as he entered Missouri on his return from Richmond, Governor Jackson, "appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude" of his intentions, issued a proclamation (New Madrid, August 5, 1861) in the name of the people of Missouri declaring the severance of all bonds

⁸Carr, *Missouri*, 320; *Confed. Mil. Hist.*, IX, 42.

⁹*Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States*, I, 326, 480.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 369.

with the United States and that the "State of Missouri, as a sovereign, free, and independent republic, has full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do."¹¹

Military pressure prevented the assembling of his government for some time, but finally Jackson fixed his capital at Neosho and summoned the Legislature to meet him. The writer in *Appleton's Annual Encyclopedia* (1861, p. 497) says that a quorum was obtained by the appointment of proxies. Carr says that it was "a mere rump—not a quorum in either house being present."¹² John C. Moore says it was a regularly constituted body with a quorum, in each house.¹³ The exact truth probably will never be known. The Journal of the Senate, which was captured in Alabama and printed by order of the House of Representatives in 1865, gives no roster or even roll call, nor is any reference made to a quorum. The first meeting was held October 21st, when the governor's proclamation was read. The next day organization was effected by the election of certain officers and the following day messengers were appointed to "notify and bring to the Senate the absent members thereof."¹⁴ The House notified the Senate that it was ready for business October 28th and a message from Governor Jackson was read. In this brief message the governor called attention to the distracted condition of the State, the sympathy manifested and money furnished by the Confederacy, and advised secession and adhesion to the Confederacy, the passage of an election law, and of a law authorizing the issuance of bonds.

Most of the acts of this Legislature related to military defense and need not detain us, but two acts are deserving of notice. Articles of agreement for a military alliance with the Confederacy pending admission to statehood had already been

¹¹*Appleton's Annual Encyclopaedia*, 1861, 490.

¹²*Missouri*, 376.

¹³*Confed. Mil. Hist.*, IX, 69.

¹⁴*Journal of the Senate, Extra Session of the Rebel Legislature* (Jefferson City, 1865), 3-6.

signed by E. C. Cabell and Thomas L. Snead, commissioners for Missouri, and R. M. T. Hunter, commissioner for the Confederacy.¹⁵ In response to the recommendation of Governor Jackson the Legislature now ratified this convention. Also, it passed an act dissolving all ties with the United States and another ratifying the Confederate Constitution and directing Governor Jackson to transmit the same to secure the admission of the state.¹⁶

The records as published in the Senate Journal are incomplete, but from a message addressed to the Speaker of the House of Representatives by Governor Jackson it is clear that an act was passed providing for the election of representatives to the Confederate Congress. The provisions of this, "most extraordinary bill in the history of legislation" may best be gathered from the message of Governor Jackson explaining why he did not veto it. Commenting on it he said:

It is known to every one that the Executive of the State, under the Constitution, has nothing whatever to do with the election, either of Senators or Representatives. It is equally well known that the two houses of the General Assembly in making an election of Senators meet together in joint session, and hold an election as the Constitution requires; and when it is so made the approval or the objections of the Executive have no earthly bearing upon the subject; and it is, therefore, simply an absurdity to call upon the Executive for his approval of a measure over which the Constitution has given him no power whatever. It is also equally well known that the election of Representatives to the Confederate Congress belongs exclusively to the people in their respective congressional districts, and when made by the people, in accordance with the Constitution and Laws of the States, neither the Legislature nor the Executive branch of the government can set aside or give any additional force to their approval. So far as this bill undertakes, by mere ordinary enactment, each house acting separately and independently of the other, to elect Senators and Representatives to the Confederate Congress, it is, in my judgment, a mere nullity, having no force or effect, except to place the State in a false and ludicrous position before the world. In this respect the bill is highly objectionable in my estimation, while at the same time its constitutionality, touching these provisions, may well be questioned.

¹⁵Annual Encyclopedia, 1861, 497.

¹⁶Journal of the Senate, Extra Session of the Rebel Legislature, 39, 42; Jour. Confed. Cong., I, 480-1.

In spite of these very serious objections the governor was so pleased with the provisions for the appointment of deputies to the Provisional Congress and the election of Representatives to the Confederate Congress by the people that he affixed his signature in approval.¹⁷

At this point it may be well enough to follow the Confederate State government of Missouri to the end. Soon after the act of secession was passed Governor Jackson found it prudent to move his government to Little Rock, Arkansas, which seems to have remained the capital of Missouri as long as it was in the possession of the Confederates. December 2, 1862, Governor Jackson died, whereupon the lieutenant governor, Thomas C. Reynolds, assumed the office and continued active in performing its duties. In January, 1863, he visited Richmond to confer with the authorities there.¹⁸ Some time after returning he gave Col. Waldo P. Johnson authority to levy requisitions for goods and supplies in Missouri, giving receipts therefor.¹⁹ In August, 1863, he attended a conference of prominent trans-Mississippians at Marshall, Texas, to consider means for the better conduct of the war and took a prominent part in the proceedings.²⁰ Just when his government finally dissolved I cannot say.

It will be recalled that the act providing for the admission of Missouri left it to the President to decide when the Provisional Confederate Constitution had been "ratified by the properly and legally constituted authorities" and then to proclaim the admission of the State. This presented a nice problem to the President of the Confederacy, who believed in state sovereignty, a sovereignty based on a majority of the inhabitants of the state, and in regular legal procedure. In Missouri the evidence seemed to indicate that the majority had not favored secession and certainly the act of secession had not been passed in the recognized way, either by a convention (in Missouri a convention called for that purpose had

¹⁷*Journal of the Senate, Extra Session of the Rebel Legislature, 31-32.*

¹⁸*Reb. Rec., I, XXII, 780-2.*

¹⁹*Ibid., 889.*

²⁰*Ibid., 1005-6.*

refused to pass it), or by popular vote. President Davis now said that, had the case been presented during the recess of Congress, he would have deemed it his duty to proclaim the admission of Missouri at once, but the admission of a new state was a matter of such importance that he preferred to refer it to Congress for action. Mr. Johnson, of Arkansas, at once offered a resolution ratifying the admission and this was adopted 58 to 0.²¹

After ratifying the Confederate Constitution the Missouri legislature proceeded to elect senators and representatives with the following results: John B. Clark and R. L. Y. Peyton senators, and Thomas A. Harris, Casper W. Bell, A. H. Conrow, Thomas Freeman, George G. Vest, Samuel Hyer, of Dent, and William M. Cooke, of St. Louis, as representatives.²²

So far as concerned the provisional Confederate government this proceeding may not have been particularly irregular, for the Congress was made up of the delegates who met to form the Confederacy and this unicameral body continued to function as the legislature thereof until February 18, 1862. The provisional constitution said nothing about the manner of electing delegates, merely stating that vacancies should be "filled in such manner as the proper authorities of the State shall direct."²³

Messrs. Bell, Conrow and Vest presented themselves December 2nd and, on motion of Mr. Robert W. Johnson, of Arkansas, were admitted to seats. The others, excepting Mr. Hyer, came a few days later. On motion of Mr. Vest, Messrs. Clark and Peyton were admitted as "delegates at large."²⁴ As each state had one vote it mattered very little how many delegates it sent. Mr. Hyer does not appear ever to have claimed his seat and is said to have taken the oath of allegiance to the United States.²⁵

²¹*Jour. Confed. Cong.*, I, 483.

²²*Annual Encyclopedia*, 1861, 497.

²³*Jour. Confed. Cong.*, I, 889.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 527.

²⁵McPherson: *History of the Rebellion*, 401.

When the regular government was organized under the permanent constitution these same gentlemen continued to serve in that body, Clark and Peyton going to the Senate. In drawing lots for the term of years Mr. Peyton drew for Missouri "Two years—four years." Mr. Peyton seems to have taken the four-year term. He attended regularly up to the close of the second session, May 1, 1863, but never returned for the third session and died December 19, 1863.²⁶ Except for Mr. Cooke the other members of the House attended regularly throughout the session. Mr. Cooke was granted leave of absence on account of sickness in his family, January 23, 1863, and does not appear ever to have resumed his seat. December 19, 1863, Waldo P. Johnson was appointed by Governor Reynolds to take his place and was seated December 24, 1863.²⁷ Senator Clark served out the two-year term in the Senate and then later was elected to the House of Representatives of the second Congress. For some reason the vacancy in the Senate caused by his retirement was not filled until January 12, 1865, when George G. Vest was transferred from the House to the Senate by executive appointment.²⁸ Both served until the final break-up in March, 1865. McPherson²⁹ makes the statement that L. M. Louis was elected to the Senate between the first and second sessions of the second Congress, but his name does not appear in the Senate Journal.

The military situation in Missouri was unfavorable for an election of members of the Confederate Congress in 1863 and no election was held. In January, 1864, the Confederate Congress passed a bill providing that, until the legislature of the state should otherwise direct, elections might be held as follows:

That each voter shall be allowed to vote one ticket containing the name of each one of the Congressional districts of said State, and the persons receiving the highest number of

²⁶*Reb. Rec.*, IV, III, 1187.

²⁷*Jour. Confed. Cong.*, III, 427.

²⁸*Reb. Rec.*, IV, III, 1189.

²⁹*History of the Rebellion*, 402.

votes for the respective districts shall be commissioned as representatives by the governor of the State.

The act further provided that, in the case of citizens in the military service, or of those driven from their homes by the public enemy, or in case the elections could not be held at the usual places because of the operations of the enemy, then the said citizens should be allowed to vote at any other place in the State or in the army. Elections were to be held in the army by the officers and the returns forwarded to the governor. The election was to be held in May.³⁰

The first session of the second Congress closed January 14, 1863, and this explains why no members from Missouri ever appeared in the House of Representatives for that session. When the second session opened (November 7, 1864), five representatives, Messrs. Thomas L. Snead, John B. Clark, A. H. Conrow, George G. Vest, and Robert S. Hatchier were in their seats. Later N. L. Norton and Peter H. Wilkes took their seats and all the delegation remained to the end. The absence of the Missouri delegation at the preceding session was excused. In January, 1865, a bill was passed changing the date of the election to the first Monday in November,³¹ but when the first Monday in November arrived the Confederacy was only a memory.

³⁰*Jour. Confed. Cong.*, VI, 609; *Reb. Rec.*, IV, III, 35. *Richmond Enquirer*, February 3, 1865, 3:1.

³¹*Ibid.*

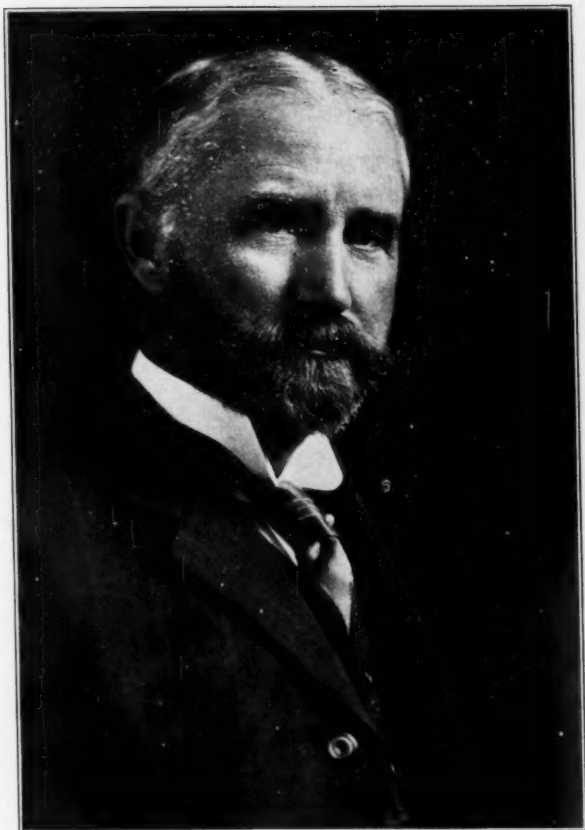
MISSOURIAN'S ABROAD—NO. 14

HENRY SMITH PRITCHETT

BY GRACE GILMORE AVERY

Dr. Henry Smith Pritchett, a native Missourian, is now president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. This Foundation, holding its charter from Congress, administers the income of two endowments. One, of thirteen million dollars, is devoted to the payment of pensions to college professors and their widows in the three English-speaking countries of North America—the United States, Canada and Newfoundland. The second endowment of a million and a quarter dollars, is devoted to the study of educational problems throughout the United States and Canada, and to printing the results of such studies. The particular board which he heads was founded expressly to provide pensions for retiring teachers who had given long and useful service, but Dr. Pritchett has also made this board an agency through which to help the country improve its standards.

Dr. Pritchett comes of worthy ancestors, all natives of Virginia. The Pritchetts moved to Missouri in 1835 and first settled in Warren county where they cleared land and became prosperous. Carr Waller Pritchett, the father of Dr. Pritchett, was only a boy at this time but he had a great desire to learn. His early years afforded him little opportunity for study but when twenty-one years of age he attended St. Charles College under its president, Dr. Fielding, a noted scholar of Trinity College, Dublin. Later he attended Harvard. In 1844 Mr. Pritchett began his teaching career. He was married in 1849 to Bettie Susan Smith and settled near Fayette. It was during 1857 that Mr. Pritchett helped with the organization of Central College, Fayette, a Methodist institution of which he became president.



HENRY SMITH PRITCHETT

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Like most Virginians, the family lived on a farm adjoining the town, where Mr. Pritchett combined the duties of college president with those of land owner. In the cottage home on this farm Henry Smith Pritchett was born April 16, 1857. Dr. Pritchett's life therefore began in a college atmosphere under the training of scholarly parents.

The earliest recollections of Dr. Pritchett go back to the last years of the Civil War. His father, although descended from Virginian ancestry and although a slave holder and a Virginian by birth, was nevertheless, a devoted anti-slavery man and a staunch defender of the Union. When the annoyances of the different armies became too great, the family moved from the farm into the town proper which, at that time, was under the protection of the Union troops. The college buildings were converted into barracks and Dr. Pritchett's father relinquished professional life and spent the years during the war in the service of the Sanitary Commission, his health not enabling him to go into the army.

Dr. Pritchett's boyhood was most eventful. When he was but eight years old, he could be sent between the lines, mounted on a horse too old to be a temptation to either Union or Confederate soldiers, when it was impossible to send a man. He made frequent trips from town to the country. Leaving the pickets of the Union soldiers, he would meet the outposts of the Confederates within the next half mile. One of the things which most impressed itself upon the mind of the boy was the bitterness of the struggle when friends and even families were divided as they were in Missouri.

At the close of the war Dr. Pritchett's father returned and opened a school in the dilapidated college buildings. However, during the summer of 1866 he was induced to leave Fayette and become founder of the Pritchett Institute at Glasgow, Missouri. Here Dr. Pritchett commenced his school life at the age of ten years. Previous to that time his studies had been directed by his mother. His entire education was acquired in the Pritchett Institute. At entrance he began Latin and took up Greek a year later. Much of

his time in college was spent on Latin, Greek, French and German. Mathematics and natural science interested him also but not more than the classical studies. He was always eager to learn and advanced rapidly in the college course, receiving his A. B. degree in June, 1875.

Dr. Pritchett did not devote all of his time to study. He was very much interested in athletics and was an enthusiastic ball player. His college classmates say that he was a famous pitcher while he was in school. "Dr. Pritchett's father was a stern disciplinarian and was greatly broken up when his boy—a senior—to graduate on the morrow—joined in putting a wagon on top of the college. Oren Root, brother of Elihu Root, was president of Pritchett Institute at the time and persuaded the old gentleman to allow his boy to graduate."^{*}

Two events had a deep influence upon Dr. Pritchett's subsequent life as a student. One was the installation of a library in Glasgow by one of its citizens—a collection of about three thousand volumes. He became a reader. Novels at that date were not looked upon as proper books for a Methodist youth to read and Dr. Pritchett usually read the novels during afternoon visits to the library, taking for home consumption a volume of history. He read Prescott and Motley with profound interest when he was about twelve years old. Dr. Pritchett says he always associated himself closely with the hero of the story but could never decide whether to be a praiseworthy patriot like William the Silent, or a conqueror like Cortez.

About the time Dr. Pritchett graduated from Pritchett Institute, the great astronomical observatory was built at Glasgow, through the gift of one hundred thousand dollars by Miss Bernice Morrison. This had a marked effect upon Dr. Pritchett as he had, during his years in college, become intensely interested in astronomy and had commenced preparations for work in the observatory. His plan had been to

^{*}Quoted from a letter from Professor T. Berry Smith, a cousin of Dr. Henry Smith Pritchett. Professor Smith is in the chemistry department at Central College, Fayette, Missouri.

study at Harvard under Professor Winlock but the sudden death of this eminent scientist altered his arrangements. Dr. Pritchett then went to the Naval Observatory at Washington where he studied astronomy and mathematics under Professor Asaph Hall, the discoverer of the Mars satellites. He spent several years here and in 1878 became assistant astronomer in the Naval Observatory. His work consisted of "transit observations of the positions of the sun, moon, planets and fixed stars and finally the foundation of a star catalogue." The importance of this work is great in as much as it has to do with the fundamental points upon which all other observations are dependent. Dr. Pritchett's work at the Naval Observatory was splendid training for further astronomical undertakings.

In 1880 Dr. Pritchett resigned his position at the Naval Observatory and returned to Glasgow, Missouri, to become associated with his father who was Director of Morrison Observatory. His chief work here was a painstaking series of double star measures. In the following year Dr. Pritchett accepted an assistant professorship of mathematics and astronomy in Washington University at St. Louis. During these years many of Dr. Pritchett's important scientific papers were written, as the *Report on Observations of the Total Eclipse of July 29, 1878*, and the *Determination of the Rotation Period of Jupiter from Observations of the Great Red Spot*.

Through the kindness of Dr. Eliot, Chancellor of Washington University, and the permission of the authorities of the University, Dr. Pritchett was absent during 1882 and 1883 in observations of the Transit of Venus in New Zealand and in pendulum observations in conjunction with Dr. Edwin Smith, which took him to Australia, Java, China, and Japan. In doing this work Dr. Pritchett used the famous Kater pendulums, the property of the Royal Society of England. The clock, which accompanied the apparatus was one which was used by Captain Cook, when in 1763 he went to Tahiti to observe the transit of Venus.

The service of Dr. Pritchett at Washington University covered a period of nearly sixteen years. His time was largely taken up with teaching and astronomical work. In 1889 he was given charge of the Washington University party to take observations of the eclipse of the sun in California and later, in 1892, he was elected president of the Academy of Science of St. Louis. During the years 1894 and 1895 Dr. Pritchett spent fifteen months in a study of mathematics and astronomy in Europe where he received the degree of doctor of philosophy from the University of Munich. He made his studies under the mathematical astronomer Hugo Seeliger, at that time, the greatest authority in that field of science in Europe.

Among the more important of the observations made at Washington University was the maintenance of an accurate time service, "and the distributions of time signals to various railways." It was not long before this service was put into extensive operation, and for a number of years, signals were distributed from the Observatory over a great section of the United States, the eastern limits of each were Cleveland and Cincinnati, the western boundary Colorado and New Mexico, and the north and south boundaries the bounding lines of the United States. These years at Washington University Dr. Pritchett regards with satisfaction. Astronomical work was mainly his work although teaching was pleasant to him and he enjoyed the contact with students.

When President McKinley entered upon his first term in March, 1897, he found that the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, the oldest scientific bureau of the government, was the cause of much complaint. He adopted the expedient of appointing an able committee of engineers to examine the Bureau and make recommendations regarding it. This committee advised that the Bureau was suffering from the fact that a political superintendent rather than a scientific head had been appointed. In accepting their recommendation the President asked them to recommend a man for this place and Dr. Pritchett was chosen. On going to Washing-

ton he was offered by Secretary Gage the superintendency of the Coast Survey. Reorganization of this Bureau was imperative. The work was reviewed, scientific methods readapted and the program of the Survey for ten years laid out. Dr. Pritchett's work in the Survey was most effective. During his term of service the sudden development of Alaska began which threw upon the Coast Survey an enormous work. Rapid and satisfactory surveys were made of the Behring Sea Coast from Cape Dyer to Port Clarence. By reason of the Spanish-American War, Porto Rico and the Philippines were added to our domain and their survey, under the law, was entrusted to this Bureau. Numerous calls from the navy and the commercial marine for re-surveys and examinations of home waters of the Atlantic and Pacific coasts were answered.

Not caring to remain permanently in the government service, Dr. Pritchett accepted the presidency of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1900. Dr. Pritchett felt that he had accomplished the most important things which he had gone to Washington to do and he found a great interest in the work and ideals of the Institute. The six years spent there were busy ones, devoted wholly to the problems of the school and to improvement in its educational and laboratory facilities. Dr. Pritchett left the work feeling keenly the separation from the student body with whom he had most interesting relations.

Dr. Pritchett resigned the presidency of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1906 to become the head of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. To one interested in education, the Foundation presents a unique opportunity, for the reason that it deals with education from the standpoint of the whole continent, not from the standpoint of the fortunes of a single institution. It was believed that an agency with a moderate income, studying education from the welfare of the whole country rather than from the viewpoint of a single school or isolated college, could render a service supplementary to the work of the

teaching institutions. In welcoming institutions to the limited list of those to which it can supply pensions, the Foundation has sought to distribute these, not only geographically but among colleges of different types.

Under the conditions of the trust given by Mr. Carnegie, the Foundation has the same relations with the colleges of Canada and Newfoundland as with those of the United States. It is empowered in its charter to conduct, not only pension systems, but to carry out educational studies with respect to the institutions of North America in such fields, and along such lines as it may find fruitful. Under these terms, the Foundation has issued many studies. Some years ago Dr. Pritchett initiated a study of medical education which has been followed by beneficial results of an almost revolutionary character. More recently Dr. Pritchett has been investigating legal education, and the administration of justice.

A study of the original plan of Mr. Carnegie soon made it clear that any free system of pensions would eventually be too expensive for an agency to permanently continue. A sound solution of this problem was found in the establishment of an agency called the Teachers' Insurance and Annuity Association of which Dr. Pritchett is president. This agency is financially prosperous and is rapidly supplying teachers with opportunity for self-protection which the profession had hitherto lacked.

For two years after Mr. Carnegie's death Dr. Pritchett administered both the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and the Carnegie Corporation. The function of the Corporation is to assist other agencies which in terms of the trust, are fruitful in "the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States." Dr. Pritchett is still a trustee of the Carnegie Corporation. In March, 1923, the Government of Greece conferred upon Dr. Pritchett the Cross of Commander of the Royal Order of George I as a mark of appreciation for the gift of a library building. This building, which will be installed some time this year is to be used by the Corpora-

tion to house the Gennaduis Library at the American School of Athens containing 50,000 items devoted to the illustration of the Hellenic civilization from earliest times to the present.

It is not an easy matter to give away large sums of money with the certainty that more good than harm is to result. Men responsible for these great endowments must have business ability, broad intelligence and must be free from selfishness. Dr. Pritchett brings all of these qualities to his work. He takes his work seriously and at times anxiously in order to make it harmonize with all that is best in democracy.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF DISTINGUISHED MISSOURIANS

BY DANIEL M. GRISSOM

SECOND ARTICLE

ABIEL LEONARD

There is no one of the early Missouri lawyers who stands higher in the estimation of the profession than Abiel Leonard. His first appearance in the State was humble enough,—in the year 1819, with a small pack on his shoulder, which contained his entire wardrobe, walking along the Boonslick road from St. Charles to Central Missouri. He had landed at St. Louis a few days before, but not fancying the place, he started out for Franklin, then the county seat of Howard county, and now known as Old Franklin. There was a great deal of coming and going between St. Louis and Franklin in that day, and the Boonslick road was the most frequented one in the State, next to the one between St. Louis and St. Charles. Peyton R. Hayden, the eminent lawyer of Central Missouri, was traveling over the road at the same time on horseback. He had been to St. Louis on business and was returning, when he overtook the future supreme judge of Missouri, trudging along, silently and resolutely in the same direction. It did not take long for the two men to give their names and tell who they were; and, after some further pleasant conversation, Hayden left his companion and rode on. He stopped for the night at a farmhouse, and after a time the foot traveler came up, and asked the privilege of staying, also. It was late in the fall of the year; the big log fire that followed the substantial supper threw its light upon a very pleasant party, and the two lawyers prolonged their conversation to a late hour before going to bed. The walking traveler was small of stature, plain of features, and homely in appearance, but there

was something in him that excited Hayden's interest, and before they separated next morning, he had made up his mind to render him all the assistance in his power, in the start of his professional career. When the young Vermonter, then twenty-two years of age, reached Franklin, he found himself in a community he had not been accustomed to, a community composed entirely of Virginia and Kentucky people, whose ways and manners were strange to him. The outlook was not promising; the limited business was monopolized by the established lawyers, among whom were Hayden himself and Hamilton R. Gamble, afterwards governor of the State, who had come to Missouri the year before, from Virginia, and was becoming settled in a profitable practice.

Young Leonard, after waiting patiently for the cases that never came, was compelled, like many a young lawyer of that day, to resort to school-teaching to supply his needs. After teaching a three-months school, he opened his law office, and again waited for the cases that did not come, till his means were again exhausted, and in a disheartened state, he went to Mr. Hayden, and asked him what he had better do. Hayden spoke encouragingly to him, and, the next Saturday, turned over to him a small case in a justice's court, and asked him to take it and with it the fee of five dollars. The young lawyer took the case, did his very best, and lost it. Hayden was absent from town that day, and when he returned, in the evening, sought after Leonard to find what had been the result of his first professional venture. He was not at his office nor at any other place where he might be expected, but after a time, it was told Hayden that the man he was looking for was down on the river bank. He went there and found him despondent, and suffering intensely with shame and despair. "I tried the case, and lost it," he said. "To think that I have been waiting here anxiously and as patiently as I could, for eight or nine months to get a start in my profession, and then to lose the first case entrusted to me, is something I cannot bear to think about. The only way I can end this trouble is to jump in that river." His

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manner and tone of voice showed that he meant all he said. And that was the beginning of the professional career of one of Missouri's greatest jurists—a five-dollar case in a justice's court, failure, despair, and only the timely arrival of his friend to prevent him from drowning his mortification in the turbid Missouri.

Mr. Hayden was a true friend to the young lawyer. He employed him at once to assist him in an important case in which he had been retained, and the opportunity it gave him for showing his learning and skill caused him to be recognized as one of the most promising lawyers at the bar.

In the year 1820 (1825?) there came to Mann's tavern in what is now Bowling Green, Pike county, two separate parties of well dressed, well mannered, and good-looking persons, who evidently were carrying a secret of some kind which the landlord, with all his skill, and the aid of the regular loungers around the tavern bar room, could not penetrate. In those days a stranger stopping for a day, or night, at a tavern or private farmhouse, usually told who he was, and the business he was on, and this entitled him to whatever information or other courtesy he might need; but these two parties repelled inquiry and gave the host to understand that they intended to keep their business to themselves. Something in their dress and manner indicated that they were lawyers; but this was all that could be made out, and even that was not certain. They had come in on the same road in the west, but they acted as if they were strangers to one another, or wanted to be considered so. Not a word passed between the parties or between their members, and even the "bar" at one side of the public room, which was usually a common ground for the exchange of courtesies between all sorts of people, failed to overcome the icy estrangement. Although they visited the bar, it was separately, each party by itself. This, in the eyes of the landlord, showed that there was something of a serious nature between the two delegations of guests; for an unwritten law in the West required a man in taking a drink at a tavern bar to invite all in the room

to join him, and if anyone declined, there must be a good reason for it.

It was a drizzly, dismal November evening, and when supper was ended—a smoking hot supper of venison, coffee, bread and potatoes, which the two parties of guests from the West, sitting on opposite sides of the table, partook of, with equal voracity—and all were re-gathered on opposite sides of the roaring log fire in the bar room, the tavern whiskey and the venison and the big fire began to have a mellowing effect on the hostile delegations,—for that is what they were,—and when the critical time arrived for taking a parting drink before retiring, a member of one party rose and said, with the ease and grace of a man accustomed to public speaking: "Gentlemen, let us forgive and forget all past differences, and drink to the good health and perpetual friendship of one another." There was an instant rising of all in response to the invitation, and as they gathered at the bar, clinked their glasses, and turned off the whiskey, shook hands and laughed pleasantly with one another. It was evident they had come to the end of their business in an unexpected but very happy way. And then the whole story came out. They had come from Franklin and were on their way to Sny Island on the Illinois side of the Mississippi to have a duel between Peyton R. Hayden and Charles French, Abiel Leonard being second for the former and Hamilton R. Gamble for the latter. All four became afterwards distinguished members of the Missouri bar, the seconds judges of the Supreme Court, and one of them governor of the state. At the time when this event took place, Leonard was twenty-three years of age and Gamble twenty-two.

The two parties returned home next morning, in high spirits, without the loss of a man. Landlord Mann's whiskey and Pike county venison had saved one gallant Missourian, perhaps two, for a career of usefulness and honor, and Sny Island from the shuddering fate of being incarnadined. Judge Leonard, in speaking of the affair, afterwards, said "it was the only instance he had known in all his life in which any good came of a drunken frolic."

THE NEW JOURNALISM IN MISSOURI

BY WALTER B. STEVENS

FIFTH ARTICLE

THE GRANT BOOM

Before the administration of President Hayes—1877-1881—was one year old the *Globe-Democrat* had begun to make satirical comments. President Hayes selected for his cabinet an ex-Confederate, Postmaster-General Key. When he left the capital on occasional trips the President took his postmaster-general with him and introduced him to audiences as "Erring Brother Key." *The Globe-Democrat* referred to one of these little journeys of the administration:

"The short season of political bouffe under the management of Mr. Hayes, assisted by the most talented artists in the country, has come to an end. The company has arrived in Washington, but will make another tour a month hence with new attractions."

Some months later Mr. McCullagh went to Washington and wrote a series of editorial letters to the *Globe-Democrat*. He voiced the sentiment of dissatisfaction among Republican politicians with Hayes and boldly suggested:

"For President in 1880—Ulysses S. Grant."

The Globe-Democrat coupled the name of Grant with one name after another for Vice-President and asked, "How would that do?"

Then was inaugurated the greatest advertising campaign for the upbuilding of a newspaper in the history of the new journalism. "The Grant boom" was kept before the public continuously. Early in the campaign there was much press comment. What other papers had to say against as well as for this suggestion of Grant was reproduced in the *Globe-Democrat*. It was good advertising for the newspaper. It stimulated talk and whether that talk was friendly or the

reverse toward Grant it was propaganda for the *Globe-Democrat*. After a time the proposition to nominate Grant for a third term was taken up seriously by some of the politicians. The course of the Hayes administration in dis-appointing the office-seekers helped the drift toward Grant.

It was early in this newspaper campaign that the *Globe-Democrat* employed "boom" and its derivatives in every possible form—noun, verb, adjective, adverb. One day the editorial column was headed with, "The g. m. is b."

When the whole country was trying to keep cool, the inevitable Grant paragraph took this form:

"This being the Sabbath day, with the thermometer at 95 at 2 a. m. in the editorial rooms of the *Globe-Democrat*, we have concluded to say nothing about 'Grant in 1880' in order to avoid unnecessary irritation of our Democratic friends. We warn them, however, that the surcease is but temporary, and we shall resume the great and good work tomorrow."

Wherever Grant went and whatever he did or said in his memorable trip around the world, the *Globe-Democrat* found material to maintain interest in the "Grant boom." When Grant landed in San Francisco and was welcomed home, the *Globe-Democrat* filled many columns with special dispatches.

As the movement to nominate Grant had been started in St. Louis and had received its early impetus there, so organized opposition to a third term first developed there. *The Westliche Post* came out against Grant. Carl Schurz wrote a series of articles against Grant which furnished the *Globe-Democrat* with inspiration for interesting paragraphs.

A mass meeting was held in Mercantile Library hall to protest against the nomination of Grant. This was followed by an anti-third term organization which Mr. McCullagh dubbed "The Tea Party." A national convention was called and held in Masonic hall on Seventh and Market streets. *The Globe-Democrat* devoted five columns to the proceedings but at the same time asserted that there were only fifty delegates from outside of St. Louis.

As state after state fell in line with Grant instructions to delegates, the *Globe-Democrat* claimed, with apparent confidence, the nomination. When the roll of the convention was practically complete, he staked his reputation as a political prophet on the estimate that Grant would have 425 votes, 379 being required to nominate. Mr. McCullagh went to the convention at Chicago and sat in one of the *Globe-Democrat* press seats. All through that "most exciting week ever known in American politics" he was the newspaper man, not the politician. He admired Grant as a man, but his interest in the movement to nominate was mainly journalistic. Once during the prolonged balloting, at a night session, Mr. McCullagh climbed on his desk and led the shouting of the Grant men.

On the 39th ballot, Garfield was nominated, receiving 394 votes to the unbroken stalwart front of 306 for Grant. *The Globe-Democrat* wasted no space on explanations or regrets. And why should it? The Grant boom had been an unprecedented illustration of the art of advertising a newspaper. It had given the *Globe-Democrat* a nation-wide reputation which it never lost. The morning after Garfield's nomination the column of characteristic paragraphs began with one word:

"Ratify!"

Then followed a score or more in like spirit, such as these:

"Garfield's biography reads well."

"His middle name is Abraham—Young Abe."

A year later, when the bullet of Guiteau proved fatal, there were newspapers which attempted to place responsibility on the Stalwart or Grant wing of the Republican party for the assassin's act. At the head of the *Globe-Democrat* editorial page appeared Garfield's historic utterance when Lincoln was shot:

"God reigns and the Government at Washington still lives."

But another newspaper, edited by one of Mr. McCullagh's personal friends, commented on the death of Garfield:

"We believe Mr. Conkling capable of any crime from incest to murder, and we fear he has absolute control over Mr. Arthur. We confess to a deeply rooted feeling which disqualifies us as a witness. We, therefore, merely insist that the rules of evidence which were adopted and applied in the murder of Mr. Lincoln be adopted and applied in the attempted murder of Mr. Garfield. If the President does this let all these men be indicted."

The Globe-Democrat's comment on this was:

"We simply ask whether the author of such drunken drivels as the above is fit to conduct a public journal."

THE ART OF RUNNING A NEWSPAPER

"The correspondent whom we sent to Yazoo City a few days ago seems to have struck an item. The great art of running a newspaper is the art of guessing where hell is liable to break loose next."

This paragraph led the editorial page on the 31st day of December, 1883. Perhaps no other expression of Mr. McCullagh on the new journalism in Missouri was quoted oftener; and he made his views impressive with concrete examples on what to his mind was good or bad journalism. The occasion which prompted the striking paragraph was a quadruple lynching. Late one afternoon in the midst of holiday week Mr. McCullagh called in a reporter and sent him by the first train that evening to Mississippi. Railroad facilities were not then what they are now. The reporter left the train in the night at a way station. He got a seat in a vehicle which had been hired by a commercial traveler, and reached Yazoo City after a long drive through the cotton country. The community was aroused over a Christmas tragedy in which two white men, the Poseys, a well known family, had been killed by negroes. The coroner's inquest, just concluded, had brought out the testimony. The negroes, confined in the county jail, gave their versions to the reporter. That evening, at dusk, a group of white men, headed by the ex-sheriff of the county, came out of a livery stable at the lower end of

town and walked up the main street. Men came out of stores and offices and homes and fell in behind the leaders, forming an irregular column. The *Globe-Democrat* man joined the procession. The jail was stormed. The negroes who had been interviewed in the afternoon, were taken out, one by one, as the separate cells were forced, and were lynched. The work of the self-constituted posse took three or four hours. The next morning the *Globe-Democrat* had four columns about the affair, and the following day printed the paragraph quoted above.

This Yazoo tragedy afforded the inspiration for several editorials as the days went by:

The Springfield, Mass., *Republican* is not pleased, it is sad to observe, with the *Globe-Democrat's* enterprise in furnishing information about certain recent occurrences in Mississippi. 'There is, in fact, no great revival of Southern violence,' the *Republican* declares, and therefore it is improper to devote so much space to the gory aspect of affairs down there. The *Republican* is a very pleasant fireside journal, with a tendency to constipation in its views on the subject of newsgathering.

A distinguished English scientist comes forward with proof that hanging is not painful. This will be pleasant news to the colored man and brother down about Yazoo City, Miss.

FIRST LESSONS IN THE NEW JOURNALISM.

There were inside phases of this new journalism in Missouri. Late in the evening the foreman laid on the chief's desk the proofs of local news. It was a frequent practice with Mr. McCullagh to pick out an article written in rather diffuse style, go through it line by line, and strike out words or phrases, or even whole sentences that were not essential to the statement of facts. Mr. McCullagh then carried the proof to the city editor and "showed" him.

Another rule of the new journalism required that footings of statistical matter be verified. Woe to the telegraph editor or to the city editor who sent up to the printer a tabulated vote or other column of figures which did not total correctly.

And a third offense was mistake in spelling or giving the initials of a well known person. With the city directory con-

venient no excuse for errors in the names of St. Louis people was tolerated. Furthermore it was expected that every one on the paper would be informed upon current events outside of his special department. Every member of the staff looked over the morning paper before he began the day's work. One noon Mr. McCullagh walked into the room of the news editor and addressed a word of comment on the most prominent article in that day's paper. The news editor was a recent addition to the staff. He replied casually that he hadn't read the article. Quietly but firmly the chief told him that if he expected to stay on the *Globe-Democrat* he must read the paper as regularly as he ate his breakfast.

There were departments and specialties but every man on the staff must possess general information and be willing to undertake any assignment. Repeatedly Mr. McCullagh went out in the pioneer days of the new journalism and undertook difficult interviewing. He brought to the city editor's desk many local items. A season of grand opera, in those days, was a notable event. It was treated in newspaper ways that had not been known before the advent of the new journalism. One afternoon Mr. McCullagh went to the desk of Captain Henry King, the leading editorial writer who came to the office only on specified days. He asked him to report the opera that evening.

"What do I know about grand opera?" asked the captain with a smile.

"That's just it," was the reply. "We want a report from somebody who doesn't know all about it."

The captain went, and the next morning the grand opera was treated in a way that prompted people to talk about the *Globe-Democrat*.

Reprint, that is matter selected from other periodicals, was an important feature of the new journalism. It received the personal attention of Mr. McCullagh. Scissors were never used to "fill up." Repeatedly Mr. McCullagh said that a good news editor was one of the most valuable members of the staff. Every night for years the newspaper mail was

brought by the office boy from the post office, immediately on its arrival, to the editorial room, and there Mr. McCullagh and the news editor scanned the latest papers for clippings to be used in the next morning *Globe-Democrat*. When these clippings were sent up stairs by the "dummy"—a box elevated by a jerk of the cord at one side—it meant "must" if the credit line was in the editor's handwriting. This rule of the new journalism was such a novelty when first promulgated that the foreman of the composing room had to readjust his traditions. One night not long after the new journalism had been inaugurated the foreman came into the editorial rooms to show the editor what had been left over.

"You didn't put in that reprint from the Chicago and Cincinnati papers I sent up last night," said the editor.

"No," said the foreman. "We were crowded and had to leave out something."

"Don't do it again."

In those earlier years the *Globe-Democrat* carried half a dozen to half a score of columns of reprint daily. When advertising crowded and space had to be made for it, the longer editorials were left over, sometimes until they almost filled a composing stone. There were many days when a column of paragraphs comprised all of the editorial matter. And other days, frequently on Monday mornings, the long editorials went in, filling from four to six columns.

In the later years came the practice of newspaper combinations and the exchange through syndicates of the class of matter which previously had been clipped and used with credit lines as reprint. But until this practice became general the new journalism gave to its reading constituency day by day the best and the latest found in the American and English press.

During a long period the *Globe-Democrat* carried in Italic at the head of the editorial page:

"*The Globe-Democrat* is now paying more money for the collection and transmission of telegraphic news from all parts

of the world than is paid by any other newspaper in any city of the world, New York and London excepted."

And yet the pages which illustrated the new journalism were not an "omnium gatherum." The hundreds of correspondents were not allowed to dump what they considered news. They could send only what was ordered. At six o'clock in the afternoon, when the night press rate went into effect, the rush of "queries" began. Correspondents wired, in the briefest possible forms, what they had to offer and waited for answers. These queries, one to a sheet, were brought in sheaves to the desk of the editor. The chief took them and, with a rapidity which seemed to allow for only a glance, went through them. He threw on the floor those rejected and told the number of words to be ordered on those accepted. Hundreds of the queries were thus disposed of in a few minutes. And when the telegraph editor went back to his room to send the orders, the floor of the chief's office was covered thickly with the rejected queries.

AGGRESSIVE BUT BLOODLESS

Neither the aggressive policy nor the stinging personalities of the early years of the new journalism in Missouri brought bloodshed, rather strange to tell. Mr. McCullagh was not held to physical account, hard as the *Globe-Democrat* hit. He had one affair which made much town talk, but in that case he was the aggressor. Robert A. Watt, who had been a city official, undertook a newspaper campaign against the St. Louis Gaslight company which was charging its customers \$2.50 per 1,000 feet. Mr. McCullagh distrusted Watt's motives and declined to allow the *Globe-Democrat* to be used in the war against the gas company. Watt went to Mr. McKee, the principal owner of the paper, and complained. He insinuated that Mr. McCullagh had been improperly influenced. If there was one thing upon which the chief was especially sensitive, it was the intimation that the *Globe-Democrat* was being used for private or ulterior pur-

poses. This feeling was shared by Daniel M. Houser as long as he lived.

Mr. McCullagh came into the *Globe-Democrat* one noon and, as he passed the private office back of the counting room, he saw "Bob" Watt in conversation with Mr. McKee. He bolted into the room and hit Watt a blow which sent him to the floor. The two were separated before much harm was done. Watt sued out a complaint before a justice of the peace for assault and battery. Mr. McCullagh employed a fiery little Irish lawyer, James J. McBride. The trial was turned into a roaring farce. McCullagh was acquitted.

Stilson Hutchins, the head of the *Times*, published a series of "open letters" addressed to "Colonels George and John Knapp, and William Hyde, their Man Servant and their Ass." John Knapp and John Hodnett, the latter being one of Mr. Hutchins' partners, went into Milford's oyster house about the same time one evening for supper. Colonel Knapp hurled a large oyster plate at Mr. Hodnett's head and missed. Friends stopped further damage to Milford's crockery.

A delegation of prominent Democrats went to Washington to work for the selection of St. Louis for the Democratic National convention of 1880. The effort failed although it was supposed that St. Louis had a sure thing. *The Post-Dispatch* said that the "prominent Democrats" lost the convention because some of them got drunk. Mr. Pulitzer's comment was:

"Many battles and campaigns before were lost by the overweening vanity or drunkenness of a general. We shall take pains to ascertain the names of the delegates who got drunk and those who remained sober and sensible, so that the people here may know exactly who is to blame."

The Globe-Democrat commented on the *Post-Dispatch* threat:

"*The Post-Dispatch* promises to print the names of the St. Louis delegates to Washington who got drunk and thus lost the national convention to St. Louis. Better save expenses by printing the names—if any—who did not get drunk."

Soon after the return of the "prominent Democrats" from Washington, Joseph Pulitzer and William Hyde met on Olive street near Fourth. Hyde struck at Pulitzer who parried the blow but the latter's eyeglasses were dislodged and fell on the sidewalk. Mr. Pulitzer was very near-sighted. He groped for his glasses. Mr. Hyde passed on. A reporter who arrived on the scene asked a newsboy what had occurred.

"Aw, nothin' " was the reply, "only Bill Hyde knocked Shakespeare into the gutter."

Shakespeare was the name by which the newsboys of St. Louis commonly designated Mr. Pulitzer in those days. Mr. McCullagh was not deterred by Mr. Pulitzer's experience from making paragraphic comment on Mr. Hyde's activities. *The Globe-Democrat*, the following day, said, editorially:

"If the editor of the *Republican* were as nimble with his pen as he is with his fists, the columns of our venerable contemporary would be much more interesting than they now are."

A few days later, Mr. McCullagh returned to the subject:

"'As an editor,' says the *St. Joseph Gazette*, 'Mr. Hyde is sui generis.' He is often worse than that."

Late in this first decade of the new journalism in Missouri two editors fought a duel. Previous to this time there had been duels over St. Louis publications. On several occasions editors had gone out to meet principals in other professions. But now an editor was to face another editor. An interchange of personal editorials had taken place between the *Times* and the *Journal* before the amalgamation of the two. The editor of the *Times* was Major John N. Edwards, a brave Confederate with Shelby. Major Emory S. Foster, the Federal hero of the battle of Lone Jack, was the editor of the *Journal*. Managers of a county fair on the extreme northern border of Illinois, conceived the enterprising idea that the presence of Jefferson Davis, ex-President of the Confederacy, would be a drawing card. They extended the invitation and then made public their action. Immediately the press of the

country began vigorous comment. Mr. Davis declined the invitation. *The Times* and the *Journal* kept up the controversy. *The Times* intimated that it was just as well that Mr. Davis had declined as it might have been embarrassing if the ex-President of the Confederacy had discovered in the North some of the silver which returning Union soldiers had carried home from the South. *The Journal* denounced the insinuation and intimated that the writer of it knew he was not telling the truth when he made this charge against Union soldiers. Major Edwards challenged. Major Foster accepted and named for the place of the meeting Winnebago county, where the invitation to Mr. Davis had originated. And to Winnebago county the principals journeyed, attended by Morrison Mumford and Dr. P. S. O'Reilly for Edwards, and by Harrison Branch and W. D. W. Barnard for Foster. The party reached the appointed place, drove out into the country a few miles and exchanged shots. The duel was bloodless. But the dignity of the State of Illinois was outraged. For a time there was much talk of prosecution under the anti-dueling statute, but it died out.

THE FOLLOWERS OF DUDEN

BY WILLIAM G. BEK

FIFTEENTH ARTICLE

FREDERICK MUENCH*

In Frederick Muench the readers of the articles dealing with the "Followers of Duden" will become acquainted with a truly remarkable man. He was a man of the finest training and of the soundest moral fiber. He took Duden literally, when that writer advised his countrymen to organize extensive emigration societies to go to America. He became a pioneer of Missouri in the fullest sense of the word. The slavish work of wresting from the wilderness a comfortable habitation for his family did not stultify him. While he cleared the forest and made tillable his land his clever pen contributed extensively to papers and journals on two continents. He became a leader in agriculture among his neighbors, and an authority on grape culture thruout the United States. He wrote incisive philosophical treatise and poetry of real merit. He taught his own children and those of his back-woods neighbors, when public schools in his settlement were only a dream. He entered the political arena, distinguished himself as a speaker of unusual power, and served his constituency in the Missouri Senate during the trying days of reconstruction after the Civil War.

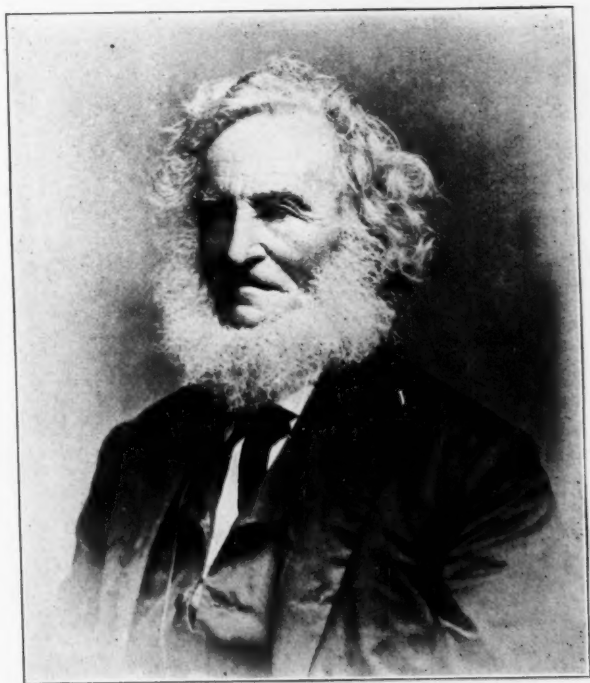
Frederick Muench was born on June 25, 1799, in Niedergemuenden, a village in the Duchy of Upper Hessa. His father was a clergyman, deeply pious, yet untrammled by

*The date for Mr. Muench's biography, especially that part which pertains to his earlier years, were taken from his "Erinnerungen aus Deutschlands Truebster Zeit." Other sources of information regarding Muench will be cited as the work progresses.

orthodox belief. There were seven children in the family, and the annual income from the pastor's charge only amounted to about \$200. To increase his income somewhat he admitted some outsiders to the instruction he gave his own children. It is evident that he was a thoro teacher, for he fitted a number of his pupils to enter the university. In addition to these duties he cultivated a small tract of land, where he cared for bees and raised fruit. His sons assisted him in this work. The information and skill here gained was to come Frederick Muench in good stead in Missouri.

His mother was a charming, intelligent, industrious housewife, who was self-sacrificingly devoted to her children. With terror she recalled the prolonged occupation of their village by foreign troops, first the French, later the Prussian, and finally the Russian.

At the age of fifteen Muench entered the Gymnasium, where he completed a three years' course in two years. In 1816 he entered the University of Gieszen. He chose to prepare himself for the ministry, first because his father wished that his sons should walk in his footsteps, and secondly because this profession at that time presented the best and the easiest opportunity for advancement. In his autobiography we are told that altho he took his theological studies very seriously, he derived the greatest and most lasting benefit from his association with a group of fellow students. These young men were imbued with a great love for their oppressed fatherland, and their praiseworthy ambition was to promulgate the unification of Germany, to secure from those in authority a constitutional form of government, and to throw off the foreign yoke. They were very much in earnest. They tried to emulate the example of some great leaders of former times. They even went attired in the costume of a former generation. Because of the black, old-fashioned coats which they wore their fellow students called them the League of the Black Brothers. In common with other student organizations these young fellows found recreation in singing national



FREDERICK MUENCH

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songs and in gymnastic exercises. Muench became one of the most active and enthusiastic Turners.*

In 1819 he passed his final examinations, was offered a vicarship, and before his twenty-first birthday was ordained a minister of the gospel. Shortly thereafter he became assistant pastor in his father's congregation. His leisure he devoted to further study, applying himself to a thoro review of the various systems of philosophy which had engaged his attention while at the university.

At the age of twenty-two he was married to Marianna Borberg, who bore him two children. Her premature death crushed Muench and for a while left him impotent. Some years later he was married to Louise Fritz who accompanied him to America and shared with him the joys and cares of pioneer life.

When his father died he was appointed pastor of his father's former charge. Very soon thereafter he was made to feel that he was suspected by certain men in authority, because of his former association with the men who had sought Germany's unification. Quoting from his autobiography we read: "I soon became aware that also in my official activity as pastor, which had nothing to do with politics, as also in my social affairs, in fact, in all my actions I was being watched by the most despicable characters. Then after the failure of the movement for Liberation the outlook became gloomier in every way. Altho I had cause to be satisfied with my condition in every other respect, my resolve to break completely with these intollerable and unworthy political conditions matured more and more, and culminated in a determination to emigrate to America in the spring of 1834, with the friend of my youth, Paul Follenius.*

*The gymnastic society, the Turners, was organized in Germany by Friedrich Ludwig John (1778-1852). Its purpose was to develop a strong youth and to teach love for country. The German immigrants known as the Forty-eighters transplanted this organization to America. The Turners became an important factor during the Civil War. Ninety per cent of their members enlisted in the Northern Army.

*The story of Paul Follenius will appear in a subsequent issue of the "Review."

In "Der deutsche Pionier" Vol. I, p. 243 ff. Muench wrote as follows: "After the close of the Napoleonic wars the population of Germany grew faster than the means of their support and employment could increase. The debts resulting from the wars, the standing army, the prodigality of the courts of the nobility, all these things imposed an unbearable burden on the people. The shamefully disappointed hopes for the rebirth of the fatherland embittered the best among us. It was a time of general discontent and hopelessness. Just at this time Gottfried Duden directed attention to the new western states of the North American Union. This book is largely responsible for the fact that after 1830 thousands of our countrymen settled in Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin and Iowa."

When Muench first spoke to his brother-in-law, Paul Follenius, about going to America, the latter opposed the plan, thinking it cowardly to give up the fight for the good cause in Germany. Subsequently he consented on condition that they should attempt to form an extensive emigration society. To this Muench agreed and in 1833 there was formed what was known as the Gieszen Emigration Society. In a pamphlet* entitled: "A Call for and an Explanation of an Emigration on a large Scale from Germany to the North American free-states, together with the Constitution of the Gieszen Emigration Society," Muench and Follenius issued the call for the formation of such a society. We read: "The undersigned together with many of their highly esteemed friends and fellow citizens have resolved to leave Germany in order to seek a new fatherland in the free states of North America. We have come to this resolution, since we are convinced that the conditions which obtain in Germany will make it impossible, now as also in the future, to satisfy the demands which we as men and as citizens of the state make upon life, not only for our-

*The writer is indebted to Judge Hugo Muench, formerly of St. Louis but now of San Diego, California, for the generous loan of this interesting document. Judge Muench is the distinguished son of the distinguished Missouri pioneer whose life story is here given.

selves but chiefly for our children. We have come to the conclusion that only a life such as is possible in the freestates of North America can suffice us and our posterity."

The purpose of the pamphlet was to induce the Germans who were already contemplating emigration, to join in a scheme to settle somewhere in the trans-Mississippi country, and in time to establish a state, which was to become a part of the Union, in which state things distinctively German should predominate. After setting forth in detail the scheme of emigration there follow a few paragraphs under the caption: "*What we expect of our undertaking.*—"We shall know what it means to have a fatherland, to which we can devote our entire energy and our lives with reasonable hope of success. The strength and dignity of the state, the soundness of its life shall be the most exalted ambition of each member. There will be no room for the cast system, nor for the specially privileged. We shall be ready to defend our state against all outsiders, in which defense every man will stand shoulder to shoulder with every other man. We have reason to hope that we shall be removed from the anxiety and care, which the European wars, with brief intermission, have caused us, and believe that in peace we shall enjoy the protection of our property and of our lives.

"We expect that in our new home there will await us a rejuvenated and revived religious life, in which the true spirit of Christianity, the spirit of freedom and love will dominate all. In its inner conviction, in its word and deed this religion shall be free. In a liberal exchange of ideas let the truth be found, in worthy action let us manifest our inner worth. Those who feel a need for formal religious worship for the uplift of their spirits will find like-minded companions enough. But all this must be based on voluntary agreement. There must be no coercion. Let all party differences disappear among us, among us who declare ourselves a society of Christians, who solemnly pledge ourselves to oppose anything that is not free, anything that might fetter the mind or disturb the unanimity among us. Especially let us agree that the various

religious views shall have no influence upon our political convictions and our social intercourse. By removing the things that awaken the baser passions and undermine morality, and by the most careful and most generous education of our youth we hope to establish and maintain a dignified public life, an ennobled social life, a purer family life.

"We expect to find decided advantages for the maintenance of our bodily existence. We expect hard work. But in this hard work we expect the co-operation of the farmer and the artisan as well as the educated man. Those who know that their physical and intellectual ability has no practical value are not suited for our undertaking. We hope to escape forever from the sight of workless and breadless human beings. We hope to escape anxiety for the future of our children, whom we there hope to see enabled to choose their profession according to their ability and inclination.

Some of the salient features of the emigration scheme may interest the reader. The scheme was to pool the funds of the participants. With such means ships were to be chartered, a large tract of land (preferably in Arkansas) was to be bought, the first houses of the colony were to be erected, teachers, a physician and accountants were to be employed. It was expressly stated, however, "that it is not the intention of introducing the principles of a communistic organization in the colony."—Only persons who were heads of families, who had sufficient means, and who had an unimpeachable character were admitted to the society.—The society at Gieszen was to be regarded as the parent society, but all over Germany branches of this parent society were to be formed. It was expressly required that the constitutions of such branch societies must not be in conflict with that of the society at Gieszen.—A central committee in Germany was to be supplemented by a central committee in America. Such committees were to co-operate with one another and assist emigrants in the sale of their estates in Europe and perform such other function as would insure a healthy growth of the colony.—

A commission consisting of two men was to be sent to Arkansas to investigate conditions for the society. (In another source we are told that this commission consisted of one Mueller, an apothecary, and one Schmidt, a preacher).—Provision is made in the constitution for the employment of accountants, teachers, a physician and justices of the peace, all of whom were to be paid from a common treasury.—Provision is also made for insurance against accident and sickness. Finally provision is made for the appointment of guardians for minors who are left orphan.

In a separate article of the "Call" it is specifically stipulated: "That none of the branch societies shall sanction the legal existence of any kind of aristocracy, and that each shall forever renounce the introduction of slavery."

Again quoting from Muench's autobiography, we read: "The pamphlet containing the call and declaration was read in all parts of Germany, so that we could feel assured of a considerable participation in our scheme. Thus encouraged we also published the proposed constitution of the society, which was worked out with great diligence, but unfortunately without accurate and authentic knowledge of American conditions. The people thought our plan excellent, and we were encouraged to make a bold beginning. Thousands expressed their intention to follow us and help make the ideal a reality. This really would have happened, if everything had gone as we hoped and expected it would go, and if we, who came first, could have found for those who came later a cozy little place to settle in comfortably with the new free state. Since the undertaking failed, it acted deterring, especially upon the educated classes, who became reconciled with the Germany of that day, and preferred to remain there, rather than to undertake a venture such as we had undertaken. Others continued to come across without a plan and migrated hither and thither without guidance.

"A commission, which had been sent out at great expense, returned just at the time when the first division of the society was ready to sail from Bremen. They warned us against the

whole undertaking and especially against Arkansas. Their warning came too late. At the last moment it was decided that all members should first go to St. Louis, where we would council regarding the further steps to be taken."*

After many tedious delays Muench's division consisting of 350 emigrants, members of sixty families from Hessia, Saxony, Altenburg and Coburg, also set sail. Quoting Muench we read:

"After a successful journey of seven weeks our ship let her anchors drop in the harbor of Baltimore. Here we had planned to rest and recuperate for a few days. There could be no thought of rest, however. The July sun burned down upon us, and even at night we found no peace on account of the heat. One of our number died of sunstroke. Our children began to get sick, so that the most sensible thing seemed to be to go on as soon as possible. I engaged the necessary teams and wagons—one for each group of two or three families. These were to convey us over the highway thru Pennsylvania to Wheeling. Unfortunately my particular driver turned out to be the worst and most disreputable of all of them. By nine o'clock in the morning he was usually drunk, then he lay down in the feedbox back of the wagon, fell asleep, and did not concern himself as to what might become of us. There was nothing for me to do but mount the saddlehorse (such wagons had five horses) take the whip and lines in my hands and drive across the Alleghanies. When our teamster awoke he was usually cross and abusive, so that we sometimes almost came to blows. There was also unpleasantness of other sorts. Sometimes we met up with kind hosts at the inns, at other times they were rough and uncouth, and large bills had to be met every morning. The trip overland lasted two weeks. We had ample opportunity to become acquainted with American conditions. One encouraging observation was the general prosperity which we had noticed.

*Follenius called with the first division on the ship "Olbers" on February 2, 1834. Before sailing Follenius visited Duden personally and submitted his plans to him. Duden heartily approved of them.

"In Wheeling, where we met other countrymen, our entire company gathered within a few days. I succeeded presently in making a contract with the captain of a boat (the Ferry Queen) to convey our entire company to St. Louis. Our captain was a corpulent, jovial, good-natured Kentuckian, but his boat was a shaky old box. Nevertheless the journey down the Ohio was a recreation for all of us—only the children suffered from cutaneous eruptions, and my youngest child was ill.

"Having arrived at Cincinnati the boat stopped and many of the passengers, desiring some recreation and refreshment, went to a hotel. Here a small elderly man, to my surprise, addressed me in German, and inquired if we were the second division of the Gieszen Company. I asked him: 'What do you know about this matter?' He replied: 'I can tell you much about it that you don't know yourself. The first division has had misfortune on the trip up the Mississippi. It has lost many of its members from the cholera. The company broke up and scattered, since each sought to help himself as best he could. Now Follenius lives close to me, near the place where Duden lived. My name is William Bock and I am on my way to Philadelphia to meet my family.'

"I was thunderstruck by this information, the accuracy of which I could not doubt. With great and incessant exertion and unspeakable sacrifice, supported by a few faithful friends (among whom I must mention Professor Goebel of Koburg, who later settled in Franklin county), I had held my division together, had kept our accounts punctiliously, and in many a bitter hour had referred to the present meeting of our friends of the first division, when everything would become better, and so had succeeded in keeping alive a general and encouraging enthusiasm, in spite of many a setback. Now this was all ended. The beautiful hope was now shattered. The only question that concerned us all now was, whether we, reduced in numbers, should undertake a settlement in common or whether we, too, should scatter and each seek his fortune single handed. Still we had to settle with the first division

who owed us a considerable sum of money. Therefore we resolved to hold together, for the time at least, and all go to St. Louis.

"The journey progressed slowly. In all we required two weeks to go from Wheeling to St. Louis. It required a few days to go thru the canal at Louisville. This had scarcely been accomplished when our captain declared that he could not carry us further on his boat, which he claimed had become defective. We had to content ourselves that our captain turned us over to a genuine Yankee, who agreed to take us to St. Louis, altho I could not see that the latter boat was any better than the one we had just left. The Kentuckian told me in parting that the Yankee had cheated him in the deal. 'Why did he?' I asked naively, and the unforgettable answer was: 'He did so, because we differ on politics.' 'That must be a strange country,' I thought to myself, 'in which people cheat each other because of political differences'. I soon learned, however, to what means party hate can drive a person. Our good-hearted Kentuckian was a zealous Jackson man, while the Yankee, his crew and the American passengers belonged to the opposition. His was a Whig boat and that of the former was a Jackson boat. On the Whig boat the books, which were provided for the diversion of the passengers, were almost without exception opposed to Jackson and his administration. This our German nature rebelled against. So we spent our time almost exclusively with card playing.

"The nearer we came to St. Louis the greater became our anxiety for another reason. On our entire journey we had received newspaper reports that the cholera had broken out in violent form in the city. When we arrived in September we did not find it as bad as it had been pictured. St. Louis had at that time still the aspect of an ordinary country town. One could still see log houses on Second Street. There was hardly a sign of future greatness.

"Since I, contrary to my expectation, received no news from Follenius in St. Louis, I went on the following day to St. Charles, where the serious illness of two members of my

family compelled me to stay for a few days. I sent a messenger with a letter to Follenius, in response to which he came himself. What we had to tell each other at that first meeting on Missouri soil was not in keeping and harmony with the high expectation with which we had left the German fatherland. He with a dozen fellow immigrants lived in a farm house, the former owner of which still occupied it with a large flock of children. Nevertheless he had already provided for temporary, most necessary, shelter for my family near his place.

"What grieved me most was the fact that a comparison of accounts kept by the two divisions showed that the first division owed the second several thousand dollars, and that it did not have the funds to meet this obligation. It was manifest that the first division had not kept its books as painstakingly as we had, for there were lacking many important entries. The worst thing was, that while Follenius and his family lay sick in Paducah, the treasurer and the bookkeeper had taken the funds to St. Louis, and there had divided the money among the surviving members,* in what now appeared a very inaccurate manner, and then had deposited an amount, smaller than was due us, in St. Louis. I will accuse none of the men participating in this affair. I consider none of them capable of intentional fraud, nevertheless they had, tho perhaps quite innocently, taken too much. When this later fact became clear, tho the details could never be fully ascertained, none of the now widely scattered members of the first division were willing to return the slightest amount to make good the deficiency. Follenius and I contributed from our own resources, which at best were not great, everything we could reasonably spare, in order to cover the loss as much as possible. Even so there remained after all a loss of from seven to eight dollars per member.

*Among other items the distributors of the funds had entirely left out of consideration the expenses of the two agents who had been sent to America to investigate conditions. These expenses were to be borne by the whole society. Though the work of the agents had proved entirely useless, still the account had to be met.

"With heavy heart I returned to St. Louis. There I called a meeting of all our people, who seemed to be of the opinion that the society should be dissolved. I explained to them the condition of affairs, distributed the means I had on hand, and assured them of my deep regret that our cherished plan should have so miscarried. Even then I heard mutterings that they would not be satisfied with the settlement. The people knew me, of course, but most of them were not personally acquainted with Follenius. There was, indeed, cause for distrust and no one wants to give up a just claim without a fight. I promised that I would do everything I could to alleviate the situation. I once more met with the bookkeepers and others, without, however, being able to bring about any improvement. In addition to unpleasant newspaper publicity, an actual attack upon Follenius was narrowly averted. Later all became convinced that Follenius and I had made great sacrifice and that not the slightest amount of the people's money had remained in our hands, or thru our fault had been lost, and with most of them our former cordial relation was restored.

"Those unpleasant scenes were not a small burden added to other hardships which we had to face. Among others we mourned the loss of our youngest child which had succumbed to the unnatural conditions in which we lived.—Now all those things are forgotten, and the few yet remaining members of the Geiszen Emigration Society, as also their numerous progeny, are, as far as I know, all in happy material circumstances."

Regarding the men who followed Duden, Muench writes in *Der deutsche Pioneer*, Vol. I, p. 243f.:

"The immigrants, attracted by Duden's idyl, upon their arrival in Missouri and other western states applied themselves, in the main, to agricultural pursuits. The day laborers and the peasants with their simple demands and being accustomed to hard labor accustomed themselves rather quickly to the new situation, and in time accumulated wealth. The others, altho imposing all sorts of privation upon themselves,

and often making the most laudable efforts, on the whole receded more than they progressed, and most of them in time succumbed.

"Still another group had come hither either with adventuresome expectations, or to regain lost riches. What they sought here only a few among them found. The disappointment gradually undermined their desire to strive on.

"Finally there were a few among these settlers for whom the ideals of freedom as entertained in 1817 and 1818 had gone into their very blood (*succum et sanguinem*), who with bleeding hearts had left their fatherland when the uprising of 1830 had failed and had deprived them of all hope, and who now, dependent upon themselves, sought, somewhere in the world, a place to live in a manner worthy of men. They were strong men, who either had to perish in the struggle for a new existence, or who could not fail to win for themselves a new field of activity, imbued as they were with high ideals, of whom it was at least to be presupposed that they would remain true to their convictions. So deeply had the indignities of the home conditions, the intolerable guardianship of a paternal government, the general pressure impressed itself upon them, that amid all the toil and privation they never directed their gaze back upon the externally comfortable positions which they had given up, contented now to be free citizens of a great commonwealth. Their first care after the preservation of their own families was to lift up their less educated countrymen and induct them into American public life, thereby to save of their better German nature as much as possible. In regard to slavery these men did not have the slightest prospect of offering it successful opposition. They endeavored, however, in the certain expectation of an impending struggle, to prevent their countrymen from engaging slaves, and expressed their opinion openly against the institution when speaking with their American fellow citizens. When the five years of probation had passed, and the time had come for them to choose a political affiliation the great majority attached themselves to the Democratic party, because its prin-

ciples seemed to them more liberal, as in fact they were then still, in the main, the principles of Jefferson. The times were hard, financial difficulty on every hand thruout the whole land due to failure of banks, little trade and industry, the produce of the farmer almost worthless, everything that one had to buy, expensive, heavy doctor bills, etc. Thus the means that had been brought along were in a large measure consumed or went into the hands of the poorer classes whose labor the educated could scarcely do without. Many of the latter sank into an untimely grave. A nobleman from Hanover died as a beggar beside the road. Many committed suicide. The writer of these lines is the only one who without changing location still inhabits the homestead which he wrested from the wilderness.

"With what interest we followed the course of the French Revolution, and then the revolutions in Austria and in Bavaria and the transactions of the Frankfurt Parliament is difficult to depict. We almost regretted that we had hopelessly given up our fatherland, and gladly would have participated in the struggle there if we and our families had not already become firmly rooted in the life of the new world. Money was collected for the good cause abroad. Meetings were called, where speeches were made, and the songs of liberation of the years 1817 and 1818 made the primeval forests of Missouri ring. We were doomed to be disappointed again. The failure of the German popular uprising resulted in the second great wave of immigration in America. The flood of 'Forty-eighters' poured over our land.

In an article which appeared in *Der deutsche Pionier*, Vol. IV, p. 226ff, and entitled 'Formerly and Now,' with the subtitle 'et haec meminisse juvabit,' Mr. Muench deals with the early days in Missouri more in detail than he does in his autobiography. For this reason we shall here quote from the above article.

"From St. Louis we went to what is now Warren county where some few members of the first division of the Gieszen Society had already settled, among them Follenius. Since

I wished to live near the latter's place, I bought a farm of 120 acres. According to the conception of that time this land was not considered the best, but it was the best that I could procure in that immediate neighborhood. It was located on the same highway as Follenius' was, a half mile closer to the Missouri, directly adjoining Duden's place,* on which the buildings were at that time almost entirely dilapidated. In a way I was attracted by the romantic situation of the land, especially by the small brook which flows between the road and the dwelling house. The location of the house itself was on a gentle slope, at the foot of which bubbled forth a pure spring, while back of the house there rose a rather high ridge from which one had a good outlook over the surrounding country. Most of the land was covered with splendid forest trees. There were between ten and fifteen acres in the lowland along the brook, which were indifferently cleared. The raising of clover gave agriculture a new impetus. Our market which till then had scarcely been worthy of the name suddenly expanded and extended to the remote west and south to New Orleans. No wonder that land situated between my place and the river, which in 1846 hardly found a buyer at \$5 an acre, now (1872) cannot be had for less than \$100 an acre.

"The rebellion was a great blow to Missouri. Our region, too, was visited, and the sacrifices then made hurt even today. Nevertheless the state recovered, under administrations on the whole wise, more rapidly than any other former slave state.

"An American pioneer would have preferred a piece of land in the near-by Missouri bottom, level and inexhaustible, rather than the broken and uneven land which I chose. To the novice, that I was, however, the available arable land seemed good, and sufficiently extensive. I did not realize at that time what an advantage I had in the eight or ten acres of land that faced directly to the south and were protected toward the north by the above mentioned ridge. On this

*Muench states that Duden's heirs sold the old historic farm about 1857

land I have now a vineyard of five acres in the very best condition.

"I paid \$1,000 for the 120 acres and this price included the harvest which was then on the land. Later I bought some more land from the government. Since during the two preceding years a good many Germans had settled in this region, the Americans expected that half of Germany would come here. For this reason the price of land had suddenly risen to nine or ten dollars an acre. With the coming of the Gieszen Society, however, immigration to these parts ceased almost entirely for a while, and after a few years the price of land was reduced by more than half.

"Of buildings I found only a ramshackled log house, 18' by 18' in size, on my land. In order to house a peasant family that I had brought with me, I was obliged to erect another log house at once. This I did in the manner customary in those parts at that time.

"But where was I to get subsistence for two families? There were no meat markets, there were no vegetables. A wretched horse-driven mill was six miles away, but it was of little use to us, since the American farmers were accustomed to raise little more than they needed themselves and so had no grain to sell. There was nothing else to do but to procure meat by shooting doves and squirrels. But what of bread? The corn was almost ripe when we arrived. We picked the ears and crushed the partially hardened grains on graters which we had brought along. Out of this substance, mixed with milk and eggs, the women learned to prepare bread, pancakes, noodles, etc. Later we bought a fat pig for pork. When the corn had fully matured, we got meal from the mill to make cornbread. It always took us a whole day to grind two bushels of corn into a coarse meal. At present (1872) there are six steam-driven mills in operation, at distances of two to eight miles from my home.

"Our furniture consisted of a rather large number of boxes, containing for the most part clothing, bedding and linen in addition to all sorts of utensils which were of little use

to us here. With the aid of an ax and a carving knife benches, tables and bedsteads were made. From the boards of the boxes we made the table tops. The log house was built for summer use, that is to say, the cracks between the logs were only stuffed with straw. The wooden chimney, with a poor fireplace of flagstones, was in a dilapidated condition. The yard was at that time a cow pasture. The front yard was then almost inaccessible, being strewn with giant elm trees which had been felled some time before. All around there was a vast waste and confusion. All this had to be improved. In spite of all the toil and privation there was in this improvement and this creating of something new a certain charm, and we all performed our tasks with gladness and courage. Late in the fall a few American families moved away and offered at public auction a part of their household goods. Thus we could amplify somewhat our meager supply of furniture. Bedsteads, tables and the like brought at that time an enormous price, because everybody was so much in need of them.

"Now the harvesting of the corn had to be undertaken. We observed that our American farmers put the corn stalks in shocks. My hired man therefore took a knife which we used for pruning trees, and assiduously bending his back all day succeeded in cutting and setting up two shocks of corn before nightfall. I saw that we would have to do that differently. I produced two swords which we had brought along as defense against Indians and other creatures of the forest. One of these swords my brother had worn in the campaigning of 1813 against France. The other had belonged to my grandfather. With the aid of these warlike implements the cutting was soon completed.

"We also had to do some fall seeding. A piece of oats stubble seemed suitable for wheat and rye fields. From my predecessor I had acquired a couple of old oxen and a plow with a wooden mouldboard. I directed the oxen and my hired man held the plow. Since he was accustomed to the German plow which rests on wheels, and which is forced into the ground by pressing on the handles, he could not make a

furrow, for the American plow required a lifting up of the handles instead of lowering them. At the first start the plow jumped up and the oxen lunged forward. A light now dawned on me. I took hold of the handles and did a fine day's work with this American mechanism.

"I realized very soon that I should have to have more arable land. Therefore, when the autumn work was done we proceeded to extend the field. I had been reared on the farm in Germany, so it was not hard for me to wield the grubbing hoe and the ax. We tried to do everything so carefully, however, that the American neighbors jestingly asked us if we intended to convert the whole thing into a garden. Then came the breaking of the virgin soil all permeated with a subterranean network of big and little roots. I held the ever-quivering plow with a firm hand. At times my helper had to cut the thick roots in front of the plowshare. Melodious seemed to me the constant cracking of the roots, for it was a song of victory, it meant the end of the primitive state of nature, which had to give away before the higher purpose of man. By such labor I have transformed many a piece of woodland into fertile fields, meadows and orchards. After a few generations no one will think of him whose sweat was first poured out upon this land.

"During the autumn we found enough wood about the house to provide us with fuel. We were told that it was unnecessary to procure a large supply of wood for the winter, and that the snow indeed made the hauling of firewood much easier. Moreover, there was so much to do that we simply did not get at it. Everything went well enough until all at once it became terribly cold. A deep snow fell, such as I have scarcely seen since then. We were hardly able to prepare a meager breakfast with the fuel we had on hand. Then the thick leggings which we had brought from Germany were put on, we grasped our axes and out we went into the nearby woods with our team of oxen to whose yoke was fastened a heavy log chain. While the sharp northwind whistled about our ears we felled a few hickory trees, hastily stripped off the

branches and dragged the logs to the house where we cut them into smaller pieces. We not only had to heat our room with the wretched fireplace, we also had to cook our food in it. The green wood hissed more than it heated. Occasionally the smoke was blown into the room, which compelled us to open both doors for ventilation. Then all crowded around the fireplace while behind us cups and plates froze to the table tops. The lesson of this first winter was not forgotten. In subsequent years our supply of dry firewood was never entirely exhausted.

"The next spring a garden was laid out and fenced in with wickerwork. Up to this time we had no vegetables since we had come to the new settlement. Oats were sown and the ground broken for the corn. It took a long time but all was done thoroly. I was so tired in the evenings, that at the supper table I often had to support my right hand with my left to lift the soup-spoon to my mouth.—I had bought a young horse which was only partially broken. With it the field was to be laid or marked off, that is to say shallow furrows were to be made as straight as possible and equal distance from one another. Into these the corn was planted. The marking off is a task which requires considerable practice. I succeeded fairly well. Since the field was surrounded on all sides by woods, I picked out certain tree trunks and drove straight for them.—Even our first corn crop was an abundant one.

"Presently the small grain had to be harvested. We had brought German hand sickles and scythes with us. We took the former and proceeded to harvest in the same manner as the men of Biblical times had done, and as it was even done in Germany at the time of our departure. Toiling under the Missouri July sun we heaped sheaf upon sheaf. Even my eight-year-old daughter soon learned the trick and with a sickle willingly cut her share of the grain. The thick bundles were tied with straw bands, as we had done in our old home. The shocks were set in straight rows and carefully capped. It was a joy to see these shocks with their helmet-like caps. The

Americans who came by stopped, admired, smiled, and no doubt resolved not to emulate our example. Later we learned to do everything in the easier American manner.—I also learned to use the heavy wheat-cradle, and wore myself out to such a state that in the evening I could scarcely breathe. At first we did the threshing with flails on an improvised threshing floor. Then we tramped the grain out with horses. Both of these processes were so toilsome and imperfect, that most of the people raised only as much as they absolutely needed. How different now, when we take hundreds of bushels of wheat to the market and do all the work more easily than was formerly required to produce thirty or forty bushels.

"Of fruit I found nothing on my place except a crippled wild apple tree. This, however, supplied us for a couple of years with dried fruit. The natives knew nothing about nurseries. They planted seedlings or sprouts. The apple trees on a few of the older farms produced enormous quantities of fruit, and it was in part very good. I at once started a nursery, for it was just in this line that I had acquired skill in my childhood. Now I have over 1,000 fruit trees on my place—peaches, apples, pears, plums and cherries, also grapes, almost all of them grown, grafted, planted and cared for by my own hand. I made this observation, that fruit trees grow much faster here than in Europe but are not as long-lived.

"After a few years I dismissed the peasant family that I had brought with me. I gave them a piece of land as their own and fitted them out so that they could take care of themselves. Now I had an even heavier load on my shoulders, since I was alone, my oldest son being but a lad of ten years.

"This wasn't all. There were no public schools in those days, and the attempt of establishing English private schools had been unsuccessful. There were many children who needed instruction. There was no one in our community, except myself, who knew anything about teaching. So I had to become a schoolmaster. I admitted to instruction not only the German children but also a few English speaking children. The latter helped me to acquire a more fluent pronunciation

of the English language. I taught these children in my home for six hours each day during five days of the week. Many of my pupils, who later occupied important positions, never had any other instruction than that imparted by me. The pay for this service was so small that it barely sufficed to pay for a little help during that time of the year when farm labor is the hardest. Still the work on the farm had to be done, and so it came that I had to consider the hours spent in the school room as a time for physical rest. To do my necessary work I had to get up long before daylight and in the evening work by moonlight or starlight.

"How under such conditions I was still able to furnish communications and articles for papers in America and in Germany is almost more than I can understand now. It was made possible only by a habit of conserving my time.* Unfortunately there was almost no time left for recreation.

"For five years I was a road overseer and drew no compensation for such service. For eight years I was a justice of the peace. This position occasioned additional study and much loss of time. For this work I received an annual income of about \$25. By explaining the law I usually settled the difficulties without letting the contending parties prefer formal charges, and so nothing came into my pocket.

"I know I worked too hard. But since I had sacrificed an otherwise comfortable position to my political conviction, I felt that I could hardly do enough to compensate my family for the hardship they endured and the loss which they had sustained. In my youth I had not been accustomed to do such hard labor as had the day laborers in my neighborhood, but rather had tormented my youthful brain with the learning of five languages and with much useless plunder in addition to many useful studies, to which (the latter) I love to devote a part of my thinking even now.

*Muench tells us in another place how one winter he had the misfortune to cut off a toe with an ax and was thus confined to his room for two months. To have physical exercise he learned to make baskets. During another winter he learned to make cigars, and thereafter occasionally was able to trade in his year's supply of coffee for the product of such a winter's work.

"In the fourth year I was attacked by a violent fever, which was followed by a nervous condition that lasted for several years. The other members of my family also had much sickness during that time, so that my doctor bills exceeded my income. Still we managed not to incur serious indebtedness. I worked on, without, however, being able, under the then existing hard times, to rise above an existence full of toil and privation. Yet I was contented to be a free man who could live according to his own convictions and independent of any one's favor.

"Of the 'Latin Farmers' who lived there one after the other went to ruin. Their wealth had passed into the hands of their day laborers, who prospered and who were quite happy and contented in their new environment. Some of the former saved themselves by going to the city in time, where they took up some profession appropriate to their training. I am about the only one who has maintained his first homestead here till today.

"Everything we had to get from the store was three times as high as it is now (1872). Doctor bills and taxes had to be met, but where were we to get the money. Our produce, of which we did not possess many, found only an occasional sale—perchance a cow at \$10, a horse at \$30 or \$40, smoked meat at three to four cents a pound, wheat at thirty to thirty-five cents a bushel. This wheat we had to haul to St. Louis, a distance of almost sixty miles, and there we received the above price, sometimes a trifle more, and we were paid half in cash and half in wares. One of the rarest things in our country was cash. For just at this time one bank after the other failed, and so we had to suffer because of the general public swindle. In 1837 the country suffered a general crop failure. Even here cereals rose to \$1.00 a bushel before the next harvest, at that time an unheard of price. Only a few had anything to sell, and most of the people had to give up all they had just to subsist. Much Russian grain was brought into America at that time. The cash that circulated in our community had been brought for the most part by the immi-

grants. Soon, however, immigration ceased almost entirely, and so this source was exhausted. There seemed to be no prospect for bettering our situation. We faced a hopeless existence.

"The change for the better came in an entirely unexpected manner. The Mexican war broke out. Traffic on the Missouri suddenly became lively. Horses and army supplies were also bought in our community. Then gold was discovered in California. Thousands of gold seekers from Missouri equipped themselves for the trip across the far plains. In time some of the gold found its way back into Missouri. Not long thereafter the building of the Pacific Railroad along the Missouri river began, only four miles from my home. The small towns took on new life. Others came into existence and primitive conditions gave way to a brisk business life. Grape culture was started and brought in good returns. Threshing machines, mowers, grain drills made their appearance.

SHELBY'S EXPEDITION TO MEXICO

AN UNWRITTEN LEAF OF THE WAR

JOHN N. EDWARDS

TWELFTH ARTICLE

CHAPTER XXI

In the short space of time accorded to him between the reception of the orders brought for the withdrawal of the French troops and their actual accomplishment, Maximilian did the work of one who meant to fight a good fight for his kingdom and his cause. And yet for the great superstructure he tried so hard to rear and decorate, the poor man had never considered a moment about its foundation. He had no standing army—nothing to rely upon when the French left that was real and tangible—nothing that was frank and manly, and that would take him boldly by the hand and say: "Sire, we are here; trust us as you would yourself."

When that sudden dash of cavalry, which drove Juarez across the Rio Grande and into Texas, had spent itself, and when it was believed that there was no longer in the land either a regularly armed or regularly organized force of Liberal soldiers, the celebrated black flag order was promulgated. This law—based upon the declaration that Juarez had left the country, and that consequently there could be no longer in existence any regularly constituted government—required all Mexicans captured with arms in their hands after the date of the decree—October 3rd, 1865—to be summarily put to death. Maximilian resisted its passage to the last, but Bazaine was inexorable. He appeared before the Council of State and declared upon his official honor that Juarez had left the territory of Mexico. He complained of the leniency shown to the guerrillas, and cited numerous

instances to prove how French soldiers, captured on detached service had been first tortured and then most brutally murdered, while those Mexican prisoners tried under the ordinary forms of court-martial, had either been punished lightly or suffered to escape altogether.

Bazaine triumphed, as he always did when brought in contact with the soft, pliable nature of the Emperor, and almost immediately after the decree was issued, there was enacted under it a fearful obedience. General Mendez, one of the few Mexicans really and sincerely devoted to Maximilian, was holding the enemy in awe in the State of Morelia. Of a sudden he turned upon a guerrilla force, routed it, captured well on to a hundred, shot them all, and proclaimed in triumphant language that such should be the fate of all who came within reach of his hands. Among the slain were General Arteaga and Colonel Salasa. Arteaga was what was rare in Mexico, a genuine humorist. Corpulent, fair though born in the tropics, fond of laughter and wine, in no wise cruel or vindictive, a soldier from necessity rather than inclination, a judge whose decisions were always in favor of the guilty, it did seem a sin to shoot the great, harmless, laughing *gourmand* who told his jokes much oftener than his beads, and had a whole regiment of friends in the very ranks of the French army itself. Other executions took place in other portions of the Empire, and when the Emperor found that he could no longer resist the tide of blood that had set in, he quarreled with Bazaine. The Marshal was firm, however, and the Emperor fled to Cuernavaca. This was a small town forty miles southwest from the City of Mexico. It had the deliciously blended climate of the tropical and the temperate latitudes. It was summer in the day and autumn in the night-time. Maximilian had a retreat here, and thither he would go when State cares pressed too heavily from without and little spites and pitiful envies and jealousies from within. He had a house there and a garden, and among his books and his flowers he held loving converse with the past and the present—the great who had passed away from earth and the

beautiful which still remained. From these communions and reveries he would return a more patient and a more gentle man.

The shooting went on, however, and Mendez and Miramon obeyed the decree with a persistence characteristic solely of the Spanish blood.

As the French lines contracted, the skeleton regiments and brigades of Juarez were fully recruited. In many places those Mexican troops who were in the service of the Empire were turned upon and beaten. At other times they ran without a fight, throwing away their arms and disbanding in hopeless and helpless confusion. Nowhere in the whole Imperial army was there an organization worth its uniform save and alone those few Austrians and Hungarians personally devoted to the Emperor and calmly resolved to die. If at any time Shelby's conversation ever recurred to him, he made no sign. He saw probably, and felt more keenly than anyone there the need of the American corps Shelby could and would have recruited for the asking, but even in the death hour, and in front of the ruined wall at Queretero, he died as he had lived—a martyr to his belief in the sincerity of Mexican professions.

Of a sudden, and at one merciless blow, Sonora was wrenched from the grasp of the Empire. The French had already abandoned it, but an Austrian devoted to the Empire, Gen. Landberg, held it for his Majesty. The forces under his command were composed almost exclusively of Mexicans. Some few companies of these had American officers. One in particular was commanded by a young Confederate, Capt. W. M. Burwell, who was from the Valley of Virginia, and who had won high honor in Pelham's memorable artillery. He was only twenty, and had a face like a school girl. Tall, gentle in aspect and manner, with deep blue eyes and raven hair that curled and shone, he came into the Empire a boy adventurer, seeking fame and service in a foreign land. The Princess Iturbide, when the Valley of Virginia was a Paradise, had visited at his father's house and had looked in admiration

into the blue eyes of the beautiful boy. This boy, not yet a man, and the smoke of Virginia battle-fields not yet gone from his long black hair, came to the country of the Princess and to her palace by the Alameda. When he came out from her presence he was a Captain. He put on his uniform and came among his comrades in those few brief days, before the marching, a young Adonis—lithe, superb, a little Norman in feature, having red in his cheeks and dark in his hair.

All day had the battle ebbed and flowed about the port of Guaymas. A swart, fierce southern sun, coming in red from the ocean, got hotter and hotter, and by high noon it was blistering in among the foothills that held the thin handful of Landberg's dissolving army. Beautiful on the crest of the darkening conflict stood the young Virginian, no air brave enough anywhere to blow out the curls of his clustering hair, no succor anywhere near enough to save the flushed cheeks from the gray and the pallor of the death that was near. Landberg fell in the thick of the fight, cheering on his men who had fought well for Mexicans, but who had fought for all that as men who had no hope. A Frenchman, Col. De Marsang, rode to the front. The army was falling to pieces. On watch in the port of Guaymas two French frigates had been waiting since the sunrise. There stood safety and refuge for the shivered remnants when once well extricated from the coil that Landberg had failed to break, but how get through. De Marsang spoke to Burwell, saluting: "Will your men charge?"

"It may be, Colonel. Your orders."

"Yonder is a battery on a hill," pointing as he spoke to four sixteen-pounders massed upon an eminence that commanded the only road of retreat to Guaymas, "and it is scant of supporters. Silence it for a brief half hour and what is left of Landberg's loyal followers shall be saved."

Burwell drew his sword. He spoke to his men very gently. He put himself at their head. There was a sudden rush of some fifty or sixty desperate soldiers—a mass of blue and flame and dust and fury—the great roar of the guns broke

hoarse and loud above the shrill, fierce cheer of the men, and the road was clear.

They brought him back from the route of the cannoniers with a film on the blue eyes and white in the pallid cheeks. He spoke not, neither did he make moan. Today in Guaymas there are yet those who cross themselves and tell with bated breath about the charge of the *muy bonita Americano*.

Sonora was thus lost to Maximilian, and all the coast bordering upon the Pacific. In the north, department after department was abandoned by the French, and at Matamoras, after a bloody siege and a desperate combat at the end, Mejia—an Indian of pure blood and truer and braver than all the multitude of Castilian flatterers who blessed the Emperor and fled from him when the darkness came—cut his way out from environment and fell back wearily and hard bestead towards Monterey. In the passage out through the lines of Escobedo's army, an American squadron died nearly to a man. It had been recruited upon the Rio Grande, and was composed equally of those who had served in either the Federal or Confederate army. Its Captain, Hardcastle, was one of Hooker's best scouts; one Lieutenant, Inge, had made himself a name with Mosby; another, Sarsfield, an Irishman from Memphis, had killed a comrade in a duel in Georgia, and had fled as it were from a spectre which pursued him; seven of the privates had but an arm apiece; all had seen long and desperate service—all were soldiers who seemed to have no home and no country.

Children of the war, what a life history many of them had. It is related of the little band that, the night before Mejia began the work that had need to be ended speedily, they exchanged with one another the secret of each heart. Sorrows had come to the most of them, and memories that were too sad for repining, too bitter for tenderness or tears. A boy was there not yet twenty. He had been a soldier under Lee and had loved a woman older and wiser than himself. One day he told her ail and she laughed in his beardless face a laugh that went deeper than any word of cold contempt or

stern refusal. He was too young, she said. He knew she meant too poor. The morning after the interview, while it was yet dusky and dim in the East, a firm, set face was turned fair to the South, and James Randolph had left his native land forever. Among the foremost in the charge, and when the force of the squadron had spent itself, he was taken up dead from among the feet of the horses, happier than he had been, perhaps, since the parting months ago.

One was there because a life of peace had become intolerable. Hardcastle, a born soldier, fought for the love of the strife; Inge to better his fortune; Sarsfield to exorcise a memory that made his sensitive life a burden; a few for greed and gain; not any one for hatred or revenge.

Mejia loved his Americans, and had done a general's part by them. None rode finer horses—none displayed more serviceable arms. What they had to do they did, so terribly that none ever rose up to question the act. On guard, they were never surprised; on their honor, they never betrayed; on duty, they never knew an hour of rest; on the foray, they kept a rank no stress had ever yet destroyed, and in the fight, when others halted or went forward, as those who grope, these—grim, silent, impassible as fate—rode straight on. Resisted, very well. Overpowered, still very well. Cut to pieces—that might be. Having shaken hands with life, what meant a few days more or less to all who saw the end approaching.

Escobedo had surrounded Matamoras with about 25,000 troops—not good troops, however, but hard to dislodge from the fortifications in which they had encased themselves. To get out, Mejia had to cut his way through. The American squadron went first. There was a heavy fog that had blown in from the Gulf on the morning of the venture—so heavy, indeed, that the first files could not see the third files, nor the third the fifth, nor the Captain his Lieutenants in their places behind him.

No matter; a squadron like this did not need the sunlight in which to die.

It took an hour of furious work to open the only road between Mejia and Monterey—between a massacre as ferocious as the nature of the bandit, Escobedo, and the succor of Jeanningros' Zouaves marching twenty leagues in twenty hours to the rescue. Out of seventy-two—rank and file—only eleven escaped free and scatheless. Afterwards, in relating the story of the escape, Gen. Mejia remarked sentimentously to Gov. Reynolds:

"To maintain an Empire it is necessary only for a score of regiments, such as the squadron that charged at my command nine separate times, losing always and always closing up."

Today it is doubtful if any man knows where even one of the heroes lies buried, nor aught of his inner life, nor anything of why or how he died.

"So much the leaden dice of war
Do make or mar of character."

In the height of the tide of evacuation, Maximilian turned his eyes once more in the direction of the Colonists. A French Baron, Sauvage by name, and an Englishman in finance and education, obtained from the Emperor a grant of land as large about as the State of Delaware. It was rare and valuable land. It grew Indian-rubber trees and mahogany trees. It was in the tropics, and it was fertile beyond all comparison. The Tuspan river ran through the grant diagonally from northwest to southeast. It had a seaport—Tampico—where the largest vessels might ride at anchor, and where only in the unusually sickly years did the yellow fever come at all.

Several tribes of Indians inhabited this section of the Empire—mostly ignorant and unknown Indians—yet supposed to be friendly and well-disposed. At least the death of no white man had been laid at the door of any of the tribes, probably from the fact that no white man had ever been among them.

Sauvage dreaded Indians because he had never dealt with them. He was a cultivated and elegant gentleman.

He loved to linger long at dinner and late over the wine, to take his ease in his own way and to protect his person. He wanted a partner who—used to peril and privation—would not object to the life of a pioneer. Shelby was recommended. Freightage was no longer pleasant or profitable. Concentrated now principally in the cities the French did not attempt to patrol the roads nor to afford protection to those who lived away from the garrisoned towns and who needed protection. As a consequence, Shelby and his partner, Major McMurty, disposed of such stock as was left to them after the rigors of the rainy season and cast about for other work neither so difficult nor so uncertain.

Shelby met Sauvage, and when the interview was over a scheme of colonization was formed which needed only time to have added to the empire a bulwark that might have proved impregnable. Surveyors under the charge of Major R. J. Lawrence, once a resident of Kansas City, were dispatched immediately to the granted lands. A railroad from Tampico to Vera Cruz was projected and a subsidy at the rate of twenty thousand dollars per mile pledged by the Emperor. With Shelby to plan was to execute. Two hundred men were employed before the ink of the alliance between himself and Sauvage was scarcely dry. Taking passage in a rickety schooner to Havana, Shelby bought a seaworthy sail boat there and loaded the boat at once with American plows, harrows, railroad tools of all kinds, and staple provisions enough for a summer's campaign. At the same time he also flooded Texas and Arkansas with his circulars setting forth the advantages of the Tuspan country, its immense resources, the benefits a colonist might receive from a location there, and giving also the nature and quality of the soil, its products, and the average price per acre under the Imperial decree confirming the grant. The circular soon begot an interest that was intense. Twenty families in a neighborhood would unite and send an agent forward to investigate the prospects of the colony. Meanwhile the railroad was commenced. From Havana Shelby went to Vera Cruz where he purchased

another schooner belonging to the French fleet of observation in the harbor. Bazaine was in the city when he arrived in port. He went straight up to his hotel and spoke to him thus:

"Marshal, we have taken upon our hands much work. We have farming implements of all kinds, but we have no guns. Give us arms and ammunition. Your army of occupation has recently been supplied with Chassepots, and it is not your intention to take your old muskets back to France. Some you will sell, some you will destroy, and some you will give away. Give me, therefore, five hundred of your most serviceable, and ball cartridges enough for a six month's siege, and when you hear of our colony again you will hear of a place as promising as the scheme of your Emperor in Africa."

Bazaine listened to this frank volubility as one does to something he has but rarely heard in his life, smiled, shrugged his shoulders, but gave the order just the same. Before the sun set, Shelby was sailing out from the harbor and past the dark battlements of San Juan d'Ulloa, the owner of half a thousand elegant guns, a great store of ammunition, and a faith in the future that amounted with him to an inspiration.

The Americans flocked to him from every direction. His name and his fame seemed a talisman. As fast as they arrived he armed them, and it was well that he did so. A tribe of Indians, the Tolucas, owning lands directly on the northern boundary of the grant, grew jealous of a sudden at the growing colony, and sought to exterminate it. There were bad Mexicans among them who did the scheming and the plotting, and one rainy night a foray of eleven hundred dashed down upon the outposts. Shelby was with his surveying party at the time—a little detachment scarcely thirty strong. These fortified themselves behind a breastwork of logs, and fought until the settlement could be aroused. When the reinforcements were all up, Shelby massed them compactly together, and dashed down upon the invaders. They fought badly, and soon broke and fled. For thirty long and weary miles he followed them through swamp and chaparral, over

ravines and rivers, by day and by night, killing what came to him—sparing naught that fell in his way. Weary, the men declared the work done well enough. He ordered them forward fiercely.

"What," he cried out, "is the necessity of doing tomorrow, or the next day, what could be so well done today. The colony is young, it is hated, it has been in perpetual ambush; it must have over it a mantle of blood. Forward, and spare not."

The blow dealt the Toluca was a terrible one, but it was necessary. Thereafter they traded in peace with the whites, and maintained the alliance unbroken until the colony itself was destroyed, and the Americans driven out from all part or lot in the country.

Through no fault of any American there, however, the colony did not live. Shelby did the work of a giant. He was alcalde, magistrate, patriarch, contractor, surveyor, physician, interpreter, soldier, lawgiver, mediator, benefactor, autocrat, everything. All things that were possible were accomplished. Settlers came in and had lands given them. The schooners were loaded with tropical fruits and sent to New Orleans. When they returned they were filled with emigrants. The railroad took unto itself length and breadth and crept slowly through morass and jungle toward Vera Cruz. Disease also decimated. The rank forests, the tropical sun, the hardships and exposures of the new and laborious life told heavily against the men, and many whom the bullet had spared, the fever finished. The living, however, took the place of the dead, and the work went on.

One day news came that the French garrison at Correzetla had marched at sunset for the capital. Of all the good five hundred foot and horse not even so much as a sabre or a sabretash remained to hold the mountain line between the guerrillas of the South, and the little handful of pioneers hewing away in the wilderness of mahogany, toiling by day and standing guard by night. It could not be far to the end. A sudden irruption of robbers, quite two thousand

strong, poured through the gaps in the broken and higher country, and drove rapidly in all the outlying posts along the frontier. If any settler there, tarrying late to save from the wreck whatever was valuable or dear to him, fell into their hands, it was a rope, a dog's death, and a grave that hid in it neither coffin nor shroud. Death to the Gringo came on every breeze that swept to the sea.

Shelby knew that the beginning of the end was at hand, and that he had great need to bring back from the overthrow all that was worth a stroke for rescue. He met this last danger as he had met all others, with arms in his hand. He massed once more his movable columns and fought as he fell back in front of his sick and his helpless, dealing such blows as became one who felt that the sun had been turned away from him, and that thereafter it would be neither a cloudless sky nor a peaceful twilight.

The citizens rose in the town of Tampico when it was known that the French had retired, and seized upon the schooners at anchor off the bar. Some among their crew made battle and died in vain and in discharge of a duty that had neither country nor cause to remember and reward it. When the vessels were burned their corpses were thrown headlong into the sea. Nothing survived the inundation. The fields were all laid waste, the habitations were all pillaged and destroyed, what remained of the farming implements were broken to pieces, the luxuriant growth of the tropics sprang up in a night as it were, and hid the work of the devoted colonists. There was a moment of savage exultation over the wreck and the ruin of the beautiful valley and today all the magnificent land watered by the Tuspan river lies out under the sun, a waste place and a wilderness. Worn by long marching and fighting, the survivors found refuge at last in Cordova, homeless, penniless, and strangers in a strange land.

And death came, too, to one among the exiles who had cast in his lot in their midst as a Christian hero, and who had fought the fight the hero always fights. Henry Watkins Allen, ex-Governor of Louisiana, and a general of brigade in

the Confederate army, was carried up from the lowlands of the Gulf to die. Shattered by wounds, and broken in health and fortune, he bore so bravely up that none knew, not even those who knew him best, how weak was the poor tried frame, and how clearly outlined to his own vision was the invisible angel of the sombre wings.

Selected by the Emperor to publish a newspaper in the English language and in the interests of the Empire and colonization, he had founded the *Mexican Times*, and had labored faithfully for the stability of the government and the development of its mineral resources. Singularly gentle and lovable for one so desperately brave, he gave his whole time to the labors of his position, and toiled faithfully on in the work taken upon his hands to do. The Americans looked upon him as an adviser and friend, Marshal Bazaine counseled with him and bestowed upon him his confidence, and Maximilian trusted him as he would a household officer or aide. His charities were unostentatious and manifold. He delighted in giving his scanty means, and in keeping from his left hand what his right hand contributed. He wrote boldly and to the point. In the army his record had been one of extraordinary daring in a corps where all had been brave. Badly wounded at Shiloh, he kept his saddle until the battle was over, and led his troops the long day through, as though impervious to human weakness or physical pain. Later, at Baton Rouge, under Breckenridge, he had made a charge upon a battery the fame of which filled the West. The guns were taken in the terrific contest, but Allen was lifted up from among his horse's feet, maimed, inert, speechless, almost dead. Three bullets from a canister shot had penetrated both legs, shattered the bones of one of them, and wounded him so desperately that for five months it was an almost hopeless struggle for life. To the last he was a sufferer and an invalid.

Having occasion to visit Vera Cruz on business during the height of the yellow fever, the hand of death was laid gently and silently upon him, and he returned to the City of Mexico to die. The conflict did not last long. What could the emaci-

ated soldier do in the grasp of one so relentless and so fierce? The old wound bled afresh, and the old weakness had never left him. Bazaine sent to him his own physician. All that skill could do was done; all that tenderness or affection could suggest was performed. In vain. The good man died as he had lived, in peace with the world and with the good God who had afflicted him so sorely in His own wise way, and who carried his soul straight to heaven.

The work of evacuation went steadily on. As the French retired, city after city received the Liberals with many demonstrations of joy. In some of these, also, those Mexicans who had sympathized with the Empire were cruelly treated; in others they were imprisoned or shot. The armies of Juarez were recruited by a levy *en masse* of all capable of bearing arms in the territory overrun by his ragamuffins. American sympathy was not wanting. Whatever in the way of arms, ammunition, supplies or clothing was needed, was bountifully supplied. A picked detachment of Californians, three squadrons strong, formed a desperate body-guard for the President. Unquestioning as fate, they did his bidding even to torture and to massacre. They were feared and hated of the nation.

A blow fell now, and fell suddenly, upon the colony of Carlota. The name itself, of all names, was the most fatal, and it appeased somewhat the fierce hatred of the born robbers and traitors, who hated everything noble or true, to plunder all who were unresisting or defenseless, and who had over them the blessing of the stricken woman of Miramar.

In a night the labor and toil of a long year were utterly broken up and destroyed. A band of freebooters from the mountains, nearly two thousand strong, poured down through the gap the French had left unprotected, and the pillage was utter and complete. Quite a hundred colonists, males all of them, were captured in the night and marched far into the gloomy places and recesses of the mountains. Their sufferings were terrible. Barefooted, days without food, beaten with sabres and pricked with lances, some few died, and the rest after a month of barbarous captivity, made their way

back to the French lines, scarcely more than alive. All had been robbed, many had been stripped. Those who survived the blow and the thrust were but few—those who were naked were the most numerous.

The blow finished the colony. The farming implements were destroyed, the stock was slaughtered in the fields, the cabins were burnt, the growing crops beaten down under the feet of the horses, and what the hurrying cavalry spared the winds and the torches finished. Nobody pitied the Americans. In the upheaval of all stable things, and in the ever-increasing contraction of the Imperial circle, what mattered robbery more or less. The days of the colonists were numbered when the French vessel that bore Castelnau anchored off the mole at Vera Cruz.

Still, however, the Americans were here and there in demand. An English company owning valuable silver mines at Pachuca, felt the terror of the French withdrawal, and sought for something stronger to rely upon than Mexican manhood. Col. Robert C. Wood was in the City of Mexico at the time and was called upon to take command of the Company's forces. These were peons and miners. He recruited in addition a dozen Americans and went down to Pachuca to look after the silver deposits entrusted to his keeping. Vast masses of enormously rich ore, cut off from the seaports because of the revolution going on in the land, were piled up in huge heaps awaiting shipment. Wood took a look at it all and turned to its owner, an old Englishman, nervous but brave:

"How much is it all worth?"

"Well on to a million."

"They will come for it strong, then—the robbers."

"No, not for the silver ore, but for a ransom. I could stand one, or two, or three among the chiefs and pay them all well, but up among the hundreds it is impossible."

Wood took command and went to fortifying. The third day he found himself surrounded. A summons to surrender came. Before firing a gun a Mexican always seeks to arrange

a capitulation. Palaver, from his own strong term *palabres*, means after all nothing but words, words, words, in the rugged old Spanish. Since the commander was not influenced to surrender, he had but one other thing to do—he fought like a tiger. In the end the first robber chief was driven away, for the Englishman's habitation was a fort, an arsenal, a store house, and a silver mine. Others advanced to the attack, but Wood held on for three long weeks, fighting every day, and keeping his own right royally. The siege might have lasted longer, but Mendez, an Imperial Mexican, swept down from the Capitol and drove before him like chaff the robber bands, preying alike upon the innocent and the guilty. Col. Wood marched out with the honors of war, the Englishman made his voyage sure to Vera Cruz; there was no more fighting about Pachuca, but there was no more silver ore as well.

As the news of reverse after reverse came to Maximilian, he turned once more his despairing eyes toward the Americans, and sought among them for the nucleus of a corps. He sent for Shelby, who was at Cordova, and had him to come post haste. Feeling that it was too late, Shelby yet answered the summons with alacrity and presented himself to the Emperor.

The interview was brief, but, brief as it was, it was almost sad.

"How many Americans are yet in the country?" the Emperor inquired.

"Not enough for a corporal's guard," was Shelby's frank reply; "and the few who are left can not be utilized. Your Majesty has put off too long the inauguration of a plan which, while it might not have given you as many soldiers as France, would at least have restored a formidable rallying point and stayed for a time the tide of reverses that is rising all over Mexico. I don't know of two hundred effective men among my countrymen who could be got together before the evacuation is complete."

"I need twenty thousand," the Emperor rejoined, as one who talked mechanically.

"Yes, forty thousand. Of all the Imperial regiments in your service, you cannot count upon one that will stand fast to the end. What are the tidings? In Gaudalajara—desertion. In Colima—desertion. In Durango, Zecetecas, San Luis Potosi, Matehuala—it is nothing but desertion, desertion. As I came in I saw the Regiment of Empress marching out. You will pardon me if I speak the truth, but as devoted as that regiment should be, I would call upon your Majesty to beware of it. When the need is greatest its loyalty will be most in doubt. Keep with you constantly all the household troops that yet belong to the Empire. Do not waste them in doubtful battles. Do not divide them among important towns. The hour is at hand when instead of numbers you will have to rely upon devotion. I am but as one man, but whatever a single subject can do, that thing shall be done to the utmost."

The Emperor mused some little time in silence. When he spoke again it was in a voice so sad as to be almost pitiful.

"It is so refreshing to hear the truth," he said, "and I feel that you have told it to me as one who neither fears or flatters. Take this in parting, and remember that circumstances never render impossible the right to die for a great principle."

As the Emperor spoke he detached the golden cross of the Order of Guadalupe from his breast and gave it into the hands of Shelby.

He has it yet, a precious souvenir—the sole memento of a parting that for both was the last on earth.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

The readers of the *Review* are especially fortunate in having such a wide range of subjects presented in this number. The authors making these contributions have unselfishly given the results of months and in several instances of years of labor. New material and new interpretations on Missouri history are set forth. We are still largely in the monograph period of our local history but now the monographs are appearing in ever increasing number, while even ten years ago there were despairingly few.

The State's progress in this field is encouraging. Valuable in itself, it is significant of the larger progress which is raising the standards, cultural and educational, over the State. There seems to be a conscious effort by thousands of Missourians to make of their state a modern, progressive commonwealth. Less emphasis is being placed on material greatness and more emphasis on man and woman greatness. Our people are becoming more interested in their people and less absorbed in their possessions. The new attitude should result in more enlightenment.

APPRECIATION.

The last issue of *The Missouri Historical Review* is very good indeed and worth more than the full year's subscription.—Mr. A. T. Sweet, Bureau of Soils, Washington, D. C., February 26, 1924.

I find *The Missouri Historical Review* of great interest and benefit to me.—Miss Vesta Wood, State Teachers College, Springfield, Missouri, February 4, 1924.

I enjoy *The Missouri Historical Review* very much. It is a splendid publication and I congratulate The State Historical Society of Missouri on its splendid work, the general makeup of its publication, and its diligence in gathering so much of the interesting matter pertaining to our state history.—Judge Albert D. Nortoni, St. Louis, Missouri, December 12, 1923.

I get real pleasure from each number of the *Review*.—Major Ellery Farmer, Fort Hamilton, New York, December 14, 1923.

I enjoy the *Review* very much and have found much of value for various club papers in it.—Miss Villa McCune, Vandalia, Missouri, December 3, 1923.

Let me compliment The State Historical Society on *The Missouri Historical Review*. The work it has done on that deserves to live.—Mr. H. C. Storrs, DeFuniak Springs, Florida, December 3, 1923.

I enjoy *The Missouri Historical Review* very much.—Mr. Jacob Helber, Farmington, Missouri, December 11, 1923.

I wish to say that I will be pleased at any time to do all in my power to further the interests of The State Historical Society of Missouri in broadcasting this fine work, *The Missouri Historical Review*. I can hardly imagine how it can send out four issues of such a splendidly gotten up magazine for such a small annual membership payment. It is certainly a beauty in looks, and the material in the one I received is of inestimable value to anyone interested in the history of Missouri. I am one of the above, and had never imagined that there was such a source with such a wealth of material concerning said history.—Mr. Raymond W. Thorp, Author, Charleston, South Carolina, January 14, 1924.

The State Historical Society of Missouri should receive the support of all real Missourians who are interested in the advancement of their state. I consider the *Review* a great treasure.—Mr. Loyd Collins, Clinton, Missouri, December 26, 1923.

The Missouri Historical Review is certainly a masterful portrayal of events that happened in our glorious state and events that are not found in our histories.—Mr. J. H. Schaedler, Vice-President, The Clayton National Bank, Clayton, Missouri, December 26, 1923.

I cannot do without this most valuable *Review*. It most certainly is of great interest and benefit to the people who care for state history.—Mrs. Willie C. Thomas, Carrollton, Missouri, December 27, 1923.

I enjoy *The Missouri Historical Review* very much and want to give my support to such a worth while movement.—Supt. P. M. Marshall, Bunceton Public School, Bunceton, Missouri, February 14, 1924.

I greatly enjoy your publication, *The Missouri Historical Review*.—Mr. David R. Williams, *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, St. Louis, Missouri, February 14, 1924.

The January number of the able and interesting magazine, *The Missouri Historical Review*, has just been received. The *Review* will no doubt prove of inestimable value to the future historians of Missouri.—Mr. James E. Withrow, National Bank of Commerce Bldg., St. Louis, Missouri, February 14, 1924.

The value of The State Historical Society Library is perhaps not known to every one. N. T. Gentry, a Columbia lawyer, in examining the title to some Boone county land recently, found that it once belonged to a prominent lawyer of that county, who died owning it. Although the awyer was careful in writing wills for other people, he made a mistake in

writing his own will. He gave his property to his "wife, children and grand-son, according to the laws of Missouri;" but he failed to mention the name of his wife, children or grand-son, and he failed to state the number of his children. By referring to the newspaper files in the historical library, the names of the wife, children and grand-son were obtained.—Honorable N. T. Gentry, Lawyer, Columbia, Missouri, February 14, 1924.

VIRGIL M. HARRIS

How pitifully incomplete are the obituaries of real men unless their lives reveal "news" material. When the press announced the death on December 29, 1923, of Virgil M. Harris, this was again impressed on me. Later comments only deepened that impression. Here was a man whose well ordered life had been devoid of public storms, popular applause, or exceptional success. He was an author and an authority; there are many. He held a responsible position; nothing striking in this. He belonged to clubs; this is common. He came of an old family, highly honored and honorable; this is better. Then wherein did the notices, and they were better than the average, fail so pitifully to do this man justice, for Virgil M. Harris was an exceptional man, who made a lasting contribution to his people, and who will be remembered by his friends for decades? They failed to reveal the great unselfishness of this man, who had ideals and lived them, who had a broad love for his fellows and gave it expression. I find that most of the real men of today have these qualities as well as ability, industry, and courage.

Three years is a short period during which to build a friendship or form highly laudatory opinions of another. I first met Virgil M. Harris in 1920, when he became a member of The State Historical Society of Missouri. During the next three years he interested scores of his friends in the work of this institution. I recall that on one Christmas he personally sent as remembrances a year's membership in the Society to twenty-five persons. He aided in other ways. He gave of his advice, he made suggestions. He loved Missouri and contributed to advance her interests. He espoused worthy causes and advanced worthwhile work. He seemed

to regard his life as a trust-estate from which were to be paid to his fellowmen the dividends of good cheer, kind words, wise counsel, and high ideals. Virgil M. Harris typified the real nobleman.

CORRECTION

Dr. Wm. G. Bek requests that correction be made to page 237, line 20, of the January (1924) issue of *The Missouri Historical Review*, so that it will read: "W. Binner and A. Baltzer, whose son Dr. John Baltzer is the present president of the German Evangelical Synod of North America."

COUNTY HISTORY CONTESTS

Under the auspices of the Greater Missouri Movement, in co-operation with the State Department of Education, there has been inaugurated a county essay contest. The purpose is to stimulate interest among the school children in the study of the history and resources of their county. The county and city superintendents and the county leaders in the Greater Missouri Movement direct the contest. Positive results will be obtained from this movement. It cannot be too highly endorsed. Better citizens with a deeper appreciation of the history, conditions and assets of their community will be made of these hundreds of school boys and girls who take part in such contests. The home and community ties will be strengthened. The migratory attractions of other states will be lessened. These are some of the practical aspects of the contest, but no less lasting and permanent will be the educational and stimulating results. If this plan could be made more or less permanent in practice it would result in more good to Missouri than the expenditure of much money along what some might regard as more practical lines. The initial success of the movement indicates that it will spread.

"THE BANK OF THE STATE OF MISSOURI"

Students of Missouri history will find "The Bank of the State of Missouri," by Dr. John Ray Cable, a real contribution. The work was compiled as a doctorate dissertation in Columbia

University and was published by that institution last year. The author holds the position of associate professor of finance and banking in Washington University, St. Louis.

The work is divided into four parts. "The Period Before 1830," includes a survey of economic conditions in early Missouri, national conditions affecting early Missouri banking, Missouri's unfortunate experiences with the Bank of St. Louis, the Bank of Missouri, and the Loan Office experiment, and the work in Missouri of the Branch Bank of the United States and the Cincinnati Commercial Agency. "The Period of Monopoly" embraces the years from about 1830 to 1857. It includes chapters on the demand in Missouri for a State Bank, the passage of the State Bank bill in 1837, the charter and the organization of the Bank, the State Bank and the panic of 1837, the fight against unsound money, the career of the Bank to 1857, and an economic and statistical study of the accounts of the Bank. This part is the largest and most detailed in the work. The third part deals with "The Breakdown of Banking Monopoly in Missouri" and extends from 1857, the year of the passage of the general banking act in Missouri, to 1866, when the State sold its State Bank stock. This period is filled with valuable information, most of which is new. The author considers it under these suggestive chapter headings: private banking and business development (in the 50's), the demand for additional banking capital (especially in St. Louis), the legislation of 1857 and banking progress until the outbreak of the Civil War, Missouri banking during the Civil War, and the sale of the State stock in the State Bank. The fourth period continues the story of the old State Bank after it passed entirely into private hands and became the National Bank of the State of Missouri down to its failure in 1877 and the final closing up of its affairs ten years later.

There is a remarkable amount of valuable data in this book. The author has gone about his work in painstaking manner. He presents a concise study that is easy to digest. Although frequently handicapped by lack of source material

and in the later 30's by even good secondary data, he has succeeded in presenting a continuous relation of his subject. The second and third periods are the meat of the work. The first period has been treated in part by others, and the fourth period is more of an addenda to the major theme. The former could have been briefed, the latter is little more than a final chapter which could have been added to the preceding period. These are minor remarks, as the high character of the work will commend it to all seriously interested in finance and banking in Missouri.

There is something of compliment to Missouri in the manner in which she conducted the old State Bank. More of her citizens should know of the high place occupied in the history of state banking by this creature of their creation. It was the only bank in the West that did not suspend. It weathered hard times and panics, prosperity and inflation. It was true to its purpose and would not listen to the siren call of large speculative profits. During its two decades of monopoly banking (1837-1857) it set standards of banking that were assets beyond computation to Missourians and others. Despite its political and financial relations with the State government, it had on the whole a remarkable run of able, conscientious officers. Missouri was one of the few states that did not waste its share of Federal money on the distribution of the surplus. The old State Bank of Missouri became the great financial institution of the West. It merited its name "The Gibraltar of the West."

Missouri can take pride in the old State Bank, its charter, and its officers. Considering the times, the leaders in Missouri statecraft acquitted themselves well. The State is under obligation for their well poised conservatism. Much that Missouri escaped which other commonwealths endured through poor banking, can be traced to these hard-headed men of business and politics a century past. One man, whose name is now almost forgotten, deserves especial mention. This is Henry Shurlds, for fifteen years cashier of the old State Bank. Dr. Cable states that Shurlds' service was

the greatest single factor in the success of the bank. He was a lawyer by profession, but had been Secretary of State and State Auditor. He was genial and cautious. "Probably Missouri has produced few abler financiers. Shurlds deserves to be considered as one of the greatest bankers the Middle West has ever produced." Dr. Cable has performed an important work in this volume, and among the many valuable contributions made therein should be included this long merited recognition of the able, conscientious public servant and financier, Hon. Henry Shurlds.

DIME NOVELS AT A PREMIUM

Times have changed since the days when *Beadle's Dime Novels* sold in secondhand book shops at \$2 or \$3 per hundred copies. The catalog of a recent Eastern book dealer contained a list of a dozen or more of these novels, once the bane of teacher and parent. Such subjects as these appear: Massasoit's Daughter, The Forest Spy, Mohawk Nat, The Loyalist, The Unionist's Daughter, Hickory Jack. It is surprising to find these ephemeral publications even listed for sale; more surprising still to find them quoted at \$3.00 each. Why such a price,—indicative, of course, of a demand?

PUTNAM COUNTY HISTORY

Contributed by Charles C. Dean, Coatesville, Missouri.

From a speech delivered by Henry Clay Dean at the first meeting of the Old Settlers Association of Putnam county in August 1882, at Pettys Mill in Putnam county, Missouri, I find the following:

"The early courts were improvised in the neighborhoods. When I came to buy the land on which I now live, of Thoret Rose, a very worthy schoolmaster, he was late in returning home and gave as his apology, that he had been administering justice in the punishment of a hog-thief. The sentence of the Court, which was executed on the spot, was that the thief should be sewed up in the hog's skin, made to wade the Chariton, and leave the State, which he did, never to return to Putnam."

Thoret Rose was the administrator of the estate of Asa Fisk, who was the owner of this land, and the records show that this was the first estate settled in the probate court of Putnam county. Asa Fisk was a soldier under General Jackson and was one of the men wounded at the battle of New Orleans, having been shot through the hand. He lies buried on this land in front of the residence of H. A. Walter, a grandson of Henry Clay Dean. I suppose that Hogthief Creek was named for this incident as it lies over the river in the west edge of Schuyler county, near where the court was held that sent him from the State, although the attention of those interested has been called to the fact that the old soldier's grave has never had a grave stone placed to mark his last resting place. He certainly is entitled to one and while we are voting millions to those engaged in other wars we should not forget the heroic dead who fought to make this a land worth living in.

THE VIOLETTE-ROBINSON HISTORICAL COLLECTION.

(From *The Kansas City Star*, January 27, 1924.)

The Kirksville historical collection has become the Violette-Robinson historical collection, by the recent action of the Northeast Teachers' College and the Adair County Historical Society. The new name is given for Prof. E. M. Violette, who has devoted years to building the collection, and Senator W. T. Robinson of LaPlata, who was instrumental largely in obtaining a \$200,000 appropriation for the new Kirk auditorium, in which the collection is housed.

WESTPORT BATTLEFIELD MEMORIAL.

(From *The Kansas Citian*, January 22, 1924.)

The Chamber of Commerce has been put on record by the Executive Committee in favor of the creation of a National Park that will embrace the present grounds of the Country Club, this to be a Westport Battlefield Memorial Park to the honor and memory of the soldiers of the Civil War. The movement which the Chamber has now endorsed was initiated by the Missouri Valley Historical Society. A bill has been or will be introduced in Congress by Congressman Henry L. Jost for this purpose.

D. A. R. WASHINGTON TEA

(From *The Carrollton Daily Democrat*, February 23, 1924.)

Carrollton Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution celebrated Washington's birthday, February 22, with a Colonial Tea at the Magazine Club rooms from 3 to 5 to help raise funds to entertain the State Conference here this October. Everyone was cordially invited to attend.

The receiving line was in Colonial costume and one feature of great interest was the table of antiques. Each was labeled with brief history and name of present owner. The school children were invited to come to view the relics thus creating interest and respect for the history of America. The following is a list of the relics that were on display:

An old sword used in the Revolutionary war, the war of 1812, and the Civil War. Was also used in a skirmish in Carroll county. The property of Thos. Hiatt.

"A Chip off of the Old Block." This is a piece of the famous Plymouth Rock, which was discovered by the Pilgrim Fathers, in 1620. It is now the property of S. K. Turner, of Carrollton, whose ancestor, Humphrey Turner, came from Essex, England, and settled in the colony of New Plymouth, in 1626.

This scarf was brought from East India by William Markey, Mariner, and by him presented to Cordelia E. Markey, afterwards Cordelia E. Turner, grandmother of the present Lucelia K. Turner.

Old hats of the 1860 period, property of Mrs. T. W. McGuire.

Mrs. T. W. McGuire's wedding bonnet, fifty-two years old.

This pencil sketch of George Washington's tomb was made by Elizabeth Calvert, great, great grand mother of Nellie C. Darr Thomas.

This apron was brought to Maryland in 1633 by The Calverts and to the "Boon's Lick Country" Missouri in 1818 by the ancestors of M. C. D. Thomas.

This powder horn was carried by Lieut. Wm. Brown a personal friend of George Washington in the Revolutionary War.

This Masonic apron was worn by Wm. Brown, a personal friend of George Washington in the army and private life. This apron is now in the possession of his great, great grand daughter, Mrs. Thomas.

This glove was worn by Helen Henry, daughter of Capt. Jack Henry of Woodford, Ky., when she had the pleasure and honor of shaking hands with LaFayette at a reception given him in 1824 in Woodford County, Ky.

This scarf is over 100 years old and owned by Mrs. Robert Johnston mother of the late Mrs. Henry Howard.

Cape—November, 1850 or 1851; owned by Mrs. R. B. Hudson.

Candle stick and candle snuffers which belonged to my great great aunt, Mrs. Beek. Mrs. Sallie D. Goodson.

Old spectacles owned by Clem Spencer, more than 100 years old.

Two world war medals of Herndon William Painter, who volunteered in the U. S. Navy September 7, 1918, for 5 years. He was a first class gunner's mate in Naval Aviation. Was released February 27, 1919, and honorably discharged at his death December 30, 1919. Now owned by his mother, Mrs. W. R. Painter.

Alexander D. Rock who was a captain in the Mexican War sent back from his western home in Eureka, Nevada, to his grandson William Rock Painter, a silver brick that was mined and smelted there. Now owned by W. R. Painter.

Black haircloth rocking chair brought out here from Virginia when Major Archelanes Perkins of the Revolutionary war came out to Missouri to live with his son-in-law James Herndon who was a sergeant in the war of 1812. Now owned by Mrs. W. R. Painter.

An old stage coach trunk, covered with undressed leather, bought in Baltimore over a hundred years ago, the exact counterpart of it sits under Washington's bed at Mount Vernon, was the property of Corporal Morgan Day of Virginia, war of 1812, now owned by Mrs. W. R. Painter.

An antique glass camphor bottle and an elaborately embroidered silk crepe shawl called "Ashes of Roses" that have passed their hundredth anniversary. Owned by Mrs. W. R. Painter.

Gingham dress made entirely by hand from raw cotton to finished garment. Loaned by Willie A. Thomas.

Powder horn and powder measure loaned by the D. D. Thomas family.

Candle sticks over 100 years old belonging to the D. D. Thomas family.

Candle snuffers belonging to the D. D. Thomas family.

An old pewter tea pot owned by Mrs. Sallie B. Tatum, brought from Kentucky in 1843 by her mother.

An old lorgnette, property of Fanny Kinsey.

An old vest worn by Reynold Keen an ancestor of Fanny Kinsey at one of George Washington's levees.

An old shoe buckle worn in Colonial times, property of Fanny Kinsey.

An old knee buckle worn in Colonial times, property of Fanny Kinsey.

A pair of men's silk stockings worn when men wore knee breeches, property of Fanny Kinsey.

An old bouquet holder, property of Fanny Kinsey.

An old sword used by Lawrence Keanely, commander in U. S. Navy in war of 1812, property of Fanny Kinsey.

Silver markers used to label brandy and wine, owned by Fanny Kinsey.

Sampler 120 years old owned by Mrs. W. J. Turpin, from her mother's ancestor.

Yarn spun cloth woven spread designed and embroidered by Hannah Childs of Pomfret, Conn., prior to her marriage to Dr. Charles Eldridge, June 24, 1811. Dr. Charles Eldridge was the son of Capt. James Eldridge, aide de camp to Gen. Washington during the war.

Seven and three dollar bills issued by the Continental Congress in 1775.

A bowl more than 103 years old, during its time has served three owners, brought here in 1821, now the property of Mrs. Nellie England.

Holy Bible 179 years old, printed at Edinburgh in 1743 A. D. by Marh and Charles Kerr, His Majesty's printers. The property of M. S. Porter.

1852 spinning wheel handed down from Mrs. Repp Hudson to Mrs. R. W. Brown.

Unique silver basket over 100 years old, property of Mrs. Roy Welch.

Silver spoon made during the Revolutionary war, property of Mrs. Deardorff of Hale.

A dish and salt celler handed down to Mrs. Smith from her great grandmother, two hundred years old.

Mrs. Lockie Shanklin. An old counter-pane of which the cotton was planted, cultivated, gathered, spun and woven on the plantation of her grandfather W. Arnold of Campbell County, Va., an embroidered silk apron of wonderful handiwork and artistic coloring, under sleeves, fashion of long ago, and a fly bush of pea fowl feathers, tho not an antique bring back memories of yester years before the fly was swatted.

Mrs. Kate Cone. A combination tool taken off the body of an English soldier who had fallen in one of the battles about Philadelphia 1777, by Joseph Blackwell of Virginia, an office in General Washington's army, father of the late A. C. Blackwell (Carrollton, Mo.) grand father of Mrs. Kate Blackwell Cone and great grand father of Mrs. Willie Eads Cason. A tea spoon over 200 years old and a buckle worn by Jas. Blackwell in Colonial days.

Mrs. Harry Brand exhibited a New York paper printed November 7, 1783, containing General Washington's Farewell orders to the armies of the United States. His uncle, John Brand was war reporter of the paper.

PERSONALS

Oscar F. Arnold: Born in Franklin county, Virginia, January 7, 1844; died at Webb City, Missouri, August 14, 1923. He came to Missouri early in life and served in the Confederate army during the Civil War under General Price. In 1867 he located near Bunceton where he attended the Cully and Simpson Institute. He served Cooper county as superintendent of schools for two terms, as commissioner for one term, and as representative in the General Assembly for two terms.

William Henry Booth: Born in Bonn county, Illinois, September 15, 1849; died at Buffalo, Missouri, November 11,

1923. At the age of 5 he came to Missouri. During the Civil War he served in the Union army, volunteering his services when he was 15 years old. He was active in county and state politics, being sheriff of Dallas county for two terms, representative in the General Assembly for three terms, and state senator for one term.

John T. Crowe: Born in Franklin county, Missouri, December 28, 1841; died at his home near Beaufort, Missouri, April 16, 1923. He was educated in the public schools. During the Civil War he served in a Missouri regiment, and in 1868 he was admitted to the bar. He did not practice law, but served his county as assessor, collector and sheriff, as well as representative in the General Assembly for two terms before 1892.

James Lay Davisson: Born in Tippecanoe county, Indiana, October 6, 1855; died at his home near Coffey, Daviess county, Missouri, March 10, 1923. He came to Missouri with his mother at an early age and lived on a farm near Blue Ridge. He was educated in the public schools and at Grand River College, Edinburg, Missouri. He then taught school for a time and in 1883 moved to Coffey. In the Forty-fourth General Assembly he served Daviess county as representative.

Charles Bloomfield Edgar: Born at St. Louis, April 2, 1847; died at St. Joseph, December 30, 1923. He was graduated from Kentucky University in 1872 and came to St. Joseph in 1894 as editor and publisher of the *Daily News*. In 1900 he acquired control of the *Gazette-Herald*, which he published in connection with the *News*. He sold the *Gazette-Herald* and engaged in the newspaper business in Nebraska and Oklahoma until 1914, when he returned to St. Joseph. He established the *Weekly Review* there in 1917. Ill health forced him to retire a year later.

James F. Edwards: Born near Forestell, in St. Charles county, Missouri, January 31, 1838; died there April 10, 1923. He attended Central College at Fayette and later joined an overland caravan going west. In 1856 he joined General

Harvey in the Crow and Blackfoot Indian campaigns. He was a member of the surveying force which laid out the North Missouri railroad (now the Wabash). During the Civil War he served under General Parsons with the rank of colonel. He was clerk of the Constitutional Convention of 1875, and later served as clerk in the House of Representatives of Missouri, and in Congress.

Joseph Henry George: Born at Coburg, Ontario, in 1853; died at St. Louis, December 15, 1923. He attended the Collegiate Institute, Coburg; Albert College, and Victoria University at Toronto, from which he was graduated in 1880, receiving the Prince of Wales medal in philosophy. Later he received the degrees of Master of Arts from Victoria University, and Doctor of Philosophy from Boston University. For a time he preached in Canada and in 1891 he came to St. Louis, Missouri, as a Congregational minister. He served as president of Congregational College of Montreal, 1897 to 1901; and as president of the Chicago Theological Seminary. He became the fourth president of Drury College, at Springfield, Missouri, and served until 1913, after which time he was made president emeritus.

Frank M. Harr: Born near Chambersburg, in Clark county, Missouri, September 21, 1881; died near birthplace January 31, 1923. He served as circuit clerk of Clark county for four years, entering that office in 1903; was representative to the Forty-eighth General Assembly and re-elected to the Forty-ninth session, during which he was a member of several important committees; was appointed by the governor of the state to the Auditing Committee for State Institutions. In 1922 he was appointed a state motor vehicle inspector.

Paul H. Linn: Born at Huntsville, Missouri, December 12, 1872; died at Memphis, Tennessee, February 1, 1924. Dr. Linn had been engaged in educational work with the Methodist Episcopal church, South, for a number of years, and was a member of the Educational Commission which, in 1921, promoted an extensive financial campaign for Methodist colleges. He attended Central College, Fayette, Missouri, and

received the degrees of A. B. and A. M. in 1894 and 1895. In 1897 Washington University, St. Louis, conferred upon him the degree of L. L. D. He was then, in 1908, given the degree of D. D. by Central College. He was ordained in the ministry in 1897; and became president of Central College in 1913, remaining in that office to the time of his death.

J. M. McMonigle: Born at Hampton, in Platte county, Missouri, December 1, 1866; died at Platte City, March 7, 1923. He was educated in the public schools and at Park College. He took up law and was elected to represent Platte county in the state legislature. He also served in the state auditor's office, and at the time of his death was deputy circuit clerk.

J. P. Nixon: Born near Chicago, Illinois, November 15, 1841; died at Springfield, Missouri, February 17, 1923. In 1865 he was graduated from the law department of the University of Michigan. He lived in Springfield for many years and was appointed circuit attorney for the Fourteenth judicial district by Governor J. W. McClurg. He served in this capacity for four years and in 1909 was appointed presiding judge of the Springfield Appellate Court by Governor Hadley.

John Artnur Postlewait: Born at Norwood, Illinois, September 12, 1850; died at Tarkio, Missouri, December 2, 1923. He was educated at Jefferson Medical College and practiced for a time in Illinois. He came to Tarkio in 1880 at the time the town was being platted, and opened his office. He was a member of the General Assembly from 1888-89, and a delegate to the national Democratic convention in 1896. For four years he was president of the board at St. Joseph State Hospital, and was also president of the county pension board for many years. During his life-time he held various civic offices in Tarkio.

Diederich R. Schroer: Born in Warren county, Missouri, June 4, 1847; died near birthplace March 27, 1923. His early education was limited to the public schools. After having served in various township offices he was made presiding judge of the Warren county court, in which capacity he

served for several terms. He was later sent as a representative to the state legislature.

Thomas K. Skinker: Born in St. Louis county, Missouri, June 9, 1845; died at St. Louis, January 27, 1924. He was educated in private schools of St. Louis, and in 1863 entered Washington University. He also spent a year at the University of Virginia. He was admitted to the bar in 1867 and enrolled in the Supreme Court of Missouri in 1876. From 1877 to 1884 he was official reporter of decisions in the Supreme Court. He also served as president of the Law Library Association of St. Louis, and as president of the old Clayton and Forest Park railroad which he built in 1893. He was a member, formerly of the St. Louis Board of Election Commissioners, a delegate to the New York conference on reform of primary and election laws, and a member of the St. Louis and Missouri Bar Associations.

Henry P. Tandy: Born July 18, 1841; died August 31, 1923. He was educated in Eminence College, in Kentucky. For many years he was active in educational work, serving as president of Eminence College, and as a teacher of history and mathematics in Stanberry Normal school. He was a pastor for sixty years in Stanberry, Mound City, Bedison, Corning, and numerous places in the states of Kentucky, Illinois, Oklahoma, and Texas. In 1901 he was elected to represent Gentry county in the state legislature.

John Wear: Born near Springfield, Missouri, November 4, 1840; died at Poplar Bluff, Missouri, March 12, 1923. He was admitted to the bar when he was a young man, and later was elected to the state senate, where he served for one term. During the Civil War he served under General Marmaduke in the Confederate army. From Springfield he went to Mt. Vernon, Missouri, to live; later he moved to Poplar Bluff, where he was editor of the *Renovator* for a time. He was counsellor for the Iron Mountain railroad under the presidency of Thomas Allen. After serving as circuit judge for a time he resigned from public life, twenty-four years ago.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXT BOOKS

THE FIRST WOMAN'S CLUB IN MISSOURI

From *The St. Joseph Gazette*, May 23, 1915.

On a cold, dreary, winter evening forty-three years ago, in a little village in the northwest corner of Missouri, known as Oregon, seven women, six of whom were neighbors, met at the home of a physician and organized the first woman's club in Missouri.

One week later, January 13, 1872, several new members joined the original seven. By-laws and a constitution were adopted, and these first officers were elected: Miss Anna McCoy, president; Mrs. A. K. Irvine, secretary; and Mrs. Mary Curry, treasurer.

It is hard for young women to realize today just what this pioneer club meant to its founders and to all of its members during these early years. Most of them were middle-aged women of limited education, whose hands and hearts were filled with the cares of homes and families. They yearned to make themselves and their community better yet they were half afraid of the sound of their own voices and of what the gossips might say.

Each Monday night they met, read their essays, listened to their music, and discussed their "domestic science" problems. Only it wasn't domestic science or home economics then. It was the best way to make soap; or, it was how to color carpet rags so they would not fade; or, the relative merits of hop yeast and salt raising.

Its first public work was to petition the school board for increased educational facilities; afterwards they gave books, bookcases, apparatus, and an organ to the school. Long before chautauquas and lecture courses were so common as at present the Women's Union decided it would like to see and hear some of the speakers of national fame. So the members began what they called a lecture fund. They brought to Oregon such people as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Phoebe Couzins, General Shields, Colonel Sanford, George B. Wendling, Henry Clay Dean, Eli Perkins, and others.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton said:

"In 1875 I made my first visit to Oregon, and remember my surprise at meeting so large a circle of bright, intelligent women."

(Note: Other clubs whose memberships were composed of women had been organized prior to 1872 in Missouri. The Women's Christian Association was organized in St. Louis in 1868; the first woman-suffrage club in Missouri was organized in St. Louis in 1867, and is considered the first organization in the world having for its sole purpose the political en-

franchisement of women; and the Woman's Club of St. Louis, which is considered the pioneer of woman's clubs in that city, was founded in 1872, the same year in which the Oregon club discussed above was organized. Both the Woman's Club of St. Louis and the Oregon club seem to have been modeled on the broad cultural lines of present-day organizations of this kind.)

OLD WIRE ROAD OF 1862

Reprinted from the *Cassville Democrat* in the *Springfield Republican*, May 23, 1915.

In 1862 the United States, being in a bloody battle with the Southern States, sought to wipe out every vestige of secession and once again be a reunited people. During that cruel war and its commencement the Confederate forces were in the ascendancy in this portion of Missouri and practically had things their own way. But this was destined not to remain thus, for Uncle Sam was anxious to have a union of our people.

Every possible convenience of that day and time was brought about in order to enable the Federal forces to make progress and keep posted on the doings of the Confederates. In 1862 the United States had constructed from Rolla, via Lebanon, Marshfield, Springfield, Wilson creek, Crane creek, Camp Bliss hollow, McDowell, Cassville, and Keetsville,* Missouri and on to Cross Hollows, Mud Town, Fayetteville, Van Buren, and Fort Smith, Arkansas, a telegraph line to enable the Federal government to keep in touch with everything that was going on.

The Confederates would put the Federals to lots of trouble by cutting the telegraph wire, causing them to send a force of repairmen to fix it. Then a bunch of soldiers would hike out after the Confederates, who had gone to safety by the time they got there.

Probably they had wire-tappers at that day and time who secured the Confederates information that they could not otherwise get. At that time the messages were taken off of the telegraph instruments on paper slips in the form of dots and dashes which the operator could read.

After the war closed the government took down the wire and for many years afterward the old telegraph poles could be seen along the road from Cassville to Springfield; and since that time it has been called the Old Wire road. There is more war history connected with it than possibly with any other road in southwest Missouri.

Many thousands of soldiers of both sides in that unfortunate Civil War traversed the Old Wire road with Brown, Fremont, Blunt, McNeal, Phelps, Bliss, Schofield, Herron, Totten, and others of the Federal forces; and Price, Coffee, Rains, Hindman, Parsons, Slack, and others of the Confederate Army.

*Keetsville is now Washburn.

Unwritten history says that during the retreat of General Price from this state he threw one of his cannons in the "blue hole" in Flat creek near Springfield, because its wheel was broken.

MORE ABOUT THE OLD WIRE ROAD

(From a communication by Dr. W. C. Carroll, of Lebanon, in the *Springfield Leader*, August 26, 1917.)

More than seventy-five years ago the government instructed its surveyors to locate the very best route possible from St. Louis to the great Southwest. The present Wire road was selected by these surveyors after every available route had been gone over.

The road was opened as a star postal route and so became the great artery of travel from St. Louis to Springfield and the country to the southwest. During the Civil War it was used exclusively by the government for the transportation of all war equipment and troops that were sent to the south through here. At that time the government placed a telegraph wire along the road and it is so known today as the Old Wire road.

This highway connects the present with the great historic past. Every mile of it is rich in romance and historical facts of the "great struggle," and along its stretches many of the tragedies of that war were enacted in furious combats.

A MISSOURIAN'S BUGLE BLAST ENDED CIVIL WAR

From the *Sedalia Capital*, April 9, 1915.

Fifty years ago this morning Captain Nathaniel Sisson, of Maryville then a bugler in Sheridan's cavalry, and even then a mere boy but a veteran of the Sheridan campaigns in the Shenandoah valley, rode out a little ways in front of General Sheridan's cavalry corps and sounded recall which ended the Civil War and called a halt to four years of internecine strife.

Captain Sisson, then a corporal, who later served under Custer in the Northwestern campaigns against the Indians, was standing in front of General Sheridan's tent when a troop of cavalry which had been engaged the previous day and which had been waiting the call to gallop to another part of the field, came dashing by for an attack on General Lee's detachments across the battlefield. Another detachment from Sisson's corps was detailed to join them and the horsemen started to obey orders when a messenger came to General Sheridan's headquarters saying that General Lee had surrendered. Immediately a second messenger was sent to check the cavalry charge then under way, and it was Captain Sisson who, lifting his bugle to his lips, stopped the charge, recalled the troops, and then explained that Lee had surrendered. This was the last attack of the Civil War.

Following the Indian campaigns of the west and northwest, Captain Sisson came to Maryville (Mo.) to enter the farm-loan business.

RECOUNTS VISIT OF CHARLES DICKENS TO CARONDELET

Reprinted from *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* in *Carondelet News*,
February 9, 1923.

Charles Dickens, English novelist, visited St. Louis, East St. Louis and Belleville in the spring of 1842.

He arrived in St. Louis April 11, and stopped at the old Planters Hotel. His boat arriving early, the Reception Committee which was to receive him was not there, so he arrived at the hotel unattended, which did not better his disposition, which had been growing steadily worse during his visit in Kentucky. The excellent fare he received at the Planters helped to restore some good humor.

While in St. Louis he was entertained at the home of Mrs. Cornelia Maury, whose home was a landmark of old Carondelet. This building was half rock and half log, and was moved to 5815 Pennsylvania avenue in 1917.

On the road between East St. Louis and Belleville, Dickens stopped at the old Yellow House, which was five blocks west of Edgemont on the old Rock road, and which he made famous in his "American Notes."

Upon reaching Belleville he stopped over night at the old Mansion House at the corner of Main and Howard streets, which was considered at the time the finest inn in St. Clair county.

In his "American Notes" he commented on Belleville as follows: "Belleville was a small collection of wooden houses, huddled together in the heart of the bush and swamp. Many of them had singularly bright doors of red and yellow, for the place had been lately visited by a traveling painter who got along, as I was told, by eating his way."

He commented on the unhealthiness of conditions in St. Louis, saying that the city would improve but that it would never vie in beauty with Cincinnati. Dickens' son, Alfred Tennyson Dickens, visited St. Louis in November of 1911.

HISTORIC FORTS IN HOWARD COUNTY

From *Columbia Evening Missourian*, June 16, 1923.

Before and during the first days of Missouri's statehood forts offered the chief means of protection to the early settlers from the Indians. Many interesting and historical events center around the old forts of Howard county.

In September, 1819, Roger North Todd, then living at the old town of Franklin, rode on horseback to Kentucky where he bought another horse and brought his bride home with him. She was a young woman of 19 years of age. They spent their honeymoon in Fort Hempstead.

Colonel Benjamin Cooper had charge of the fort at that time. It was his duty to protect the people from the marauding Indians. But the

winter that Roger North Todd brought his bride here the Indians got into the building and stole all the meat. Nevertheless the settlers did not have a meatless winter—they put up raccoon bacon. As they had no sugar for their coffee they were compelled to go out at night and rob bee trees for honey.

In those days of forts and savages wooden pegs were used as substitutes for nails. Holes were bored in the roughly hewn logs and these pegs were then driven in the holes to hold the timber securely.

Around each fort, some little distance away, was a ditch too deep for a man to cross on horseback. This compelled the Indians, when attempting to set fire to the building, to go on foot up to the structure. The firing of the guns of the settlers of course frightened the horses and they would run away. Many times this prevented the Indians from burning the forts.

Fort Head was located two and a half miles north of Rocheport, just across the Boone county line in Howard county. One may reach the site of old Fort Hempstead by going to New Franklin, crossing the M., K. & T. tracks, and going on past the chain of lakes where one finds a large corn field; in the middle of this field is a small mound upon which was located Fort Hempstead.

SKETCH OF OLD MISSOURI TOWNS

Reprinted in the *LaBelle Star*, February 20, 1923, from the *Macon Chronicle-Herald*.

There is one very interesting feature resulting from the road activity in Missouri the past year or so—that is bringing back into prominence a great many "lost or forgotten towns" that were once important places, but when passed up by the railroads sank into oblivion.

Some of these towns hung grimly on and refused to be obliterated while others were hauled to the nearest railroad point and helped in the making of a new town there.

Florida, in Monroe county, was once one of those towns which seemed destined to become an important city if Colonel Sellers had managed to get an appropriation to enlarge Salt River and make it navigable for steamboats. When the railroad came by way of Paris, and Florida was left back in the country, the big old world seemed to forget all about the place where Mark Twain was born. But good roads, the auto, and some industrious publicity work by "Dad" Violette have brought the old town back into the public eye, and it is probably better known now than it was in the days before the railroad went the other way.

Newburg, in Knox county; Bethel, in Shelby county; College Mound, in Macon county; and Danville, in Montgomery county, are all coming back on the map since the era of good roads.

All these towns have an interesting history. Danville and Bloomington were county seats, and were important places on the stagecoach line from St. Louis. According to Harry Turner, of Montgomery county, there was a fifty-year battle between Danville and Montgomery City as to which should be the county seat of Montgomery county, and the scrap ended in a sort of a draw—the public business being divided between the two towns.

Bloomington, in Macon county, is but the ghost of its former greatness. The old highways passed through it east and west and north and south, and the graybeards of the county tell how the taverns used to sparkle with laughter and cheer during the winter nights when they were full of guests from the stagecoaches.

The auto resurrected some of these towns and brought back to them a greater glory than they had ever known. Some of them have large garages, the old taverns have been turned into road houses, and the travel is greater now than it was in the old days.

"SHEPHERD OF THE HILLS" CHARACTER DIES.

From the Branson *White River Leader*, March 15, 1923.

"Aunt Molly" of the Shepherd of the Hills country is no more. Pneumonia followed an attack of the "flu" and Mrs. (Georgiana) Ross died Wednesday morning, March 14 (1923).

Aunt Molly was born Georgiana Willis of Garrard county, Kentucky, in 1846. Forty-one years ago she married J. K. Ross of Pennsylvania, a widower with a little four-year-old son, since known to lovers of fiction the world over as Old Matt.

Nearly thirty years ago they took up residence in the Ozarks. They were living in the now famous log cabin overlooking Mutton Hollow when the young minister, Harold Bell Wright, came to their home, some sixteen years ago, to board for the summer. Many were the helpful bits of hilllore and information of the surrounding country which they gave the young author in his eager quest for inspiration. Real characters were placed by Wright in fanciful situations woven about with threads of truth. In their sincere love of the hills, and in their kindly humor and clean, clear views of life their young friend drew out more of their own greatness of character than they realized.

Thousands of people have traveled the winding trail to view Old Matt's cabin, have looked up at Dewey Bald and down in Mutton Hollow on the scenes Aunt Molly loved. Mr. and Mrs. Ross have posed for thousands of kodak photographs which they have never seen but which are treasured in homes throughout the United States from border to border.

A HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

From *The Missouri Intelligencer*, Columbia, Missouri, July 4, 1835.

From *The Salt River Journal*.

A Historical Society.—We have been informed that it is in contemplation at Columbia, Missouri, to form a State Society for the purpose of collecting historical, geological and other information connected with the settlement, progress and geography of our state. It is with unfeigned pleasure that we have heard of this proposition. The propriety and necessity of this step has long been seen and acknowledged by every intelligent and reflecting citizen; and we feel satisfied, that nothing is wanting but an energetic movement to bring it into successful operation.

If the learned faculty of Columbia College—whom we learn are the projectors of the idea—will but give impulse to the measure they will find talent, learning and inclination in every county in the state willing to render such assistance as will do honor to the community at large. No period could be more opportune than the present. The persons most familiar with the history of our country are fast passing off, and in a few more years many of the most interesting facts connected with the early settlement of the country will be lost to posterity "beneath the shadow of the tomb." The sooner, therefore, that a concentrated movement can be made to obtain every information that may cast a ray of light on the infant struggles of our state the better. It is a duty which those having the ability owe to coming generations to prepare the history of the past while the materials may be had.

There are other reasons by which, if we had the leisure, we might urge the propriety of immediately forming such a society; but every person at all familiar with the operation of similar societies is prepared to admit their usefulness. For this reason we do not discuss the subject further.

HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN MISSOURI NEWSPAPERS

JANUARY-JUNE, 1923

- Adair County. Brashear, *News*.
 Jan. 26. How the railroad came to Brashear, by R. M. Brashear.
- Andrew County. Savannah, *Reporter*.
 June 29. Sketch of the life of T. M. Wells, Union veteran and former county official.
- Atchison County. Rockport, *Atchison County Journal*.
 Jan. 11. Sketch of life of D. A. Calvin, Union veteran and former county official. See also *Atchison County Mail*.
 April 5. Sketch of life of E. L. Schooler, county official. See also *Atchison County Mail*.
 April 19. Reminiscences of John D. Dopf.
- Audrain County. Mexico, *Weekly Intelligencer*.
 May 10. Historical sketch of Audrain County hospital.

 Vandalia, *Leader*.
 Jan. 26. Some early local history. Reprinted from *Leader* of 1907. Continued February 9, 16.
 June 21. Sketch of the life of J. H. Thole, county official.
- Barry County. Cassville, *Democrat*.
 Jan. 13. Organization and early history of Barry county. Continued in succeeding issues.
- Barton County. Liberal, *News*.
 Jan. 19. Recollections of William A. Newell of New Jersey, who served in Congress with Lincoln.
 Mar. 12. Sketch of the life of Abram Jones, Union veteran.
- Bates County. Butler, *Bates County Democrat*.
 Mar. 8. Pioneer days in Boone county, Indiana. Reprinted from Lebanon, Indiana, *Daily Reporter*.

 , *Weekly Times*.
 Jan. 11. Butler in 1889.
 April 26. Johnstown in 1889. Some early laws and ordinances of Bates county town.
- Benton County. Cole Camp, *Courier*.
 June 21. Sketch of the life of Peter Holstein, Union veteran and county official.
- Boone County. Centralia, *Fireside Guard*.
 April 13. The Quantrell raid, by William H. Gregg.

 Sturgeon, *Leader*.
 Jan. 18. Sketch of the life of Lon V. Stephens, former governor of Missouri.

 Columbia, *Evening Missourian*.
 Jan. 25. Sketch of the life of Dr. George Lefevre.
 Feb. 7. Sketch of the life of Mrs. Sallie Shadrick, Boone county pioneer.
 Feb. 16. Historical sketch of Missouri Stores company.
 Feb. 17. Reminiscences of pioneer days, by Mrs. Elizabeth Lynes.
 Feb. 21. City has had postal service 102 years. History of Columbia postal service.

- Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of Captain J. H. H. Maxwell, Confederate veteran.
- Mar. 15. First marriage in Boone county.
- Mar. 29. University life in 1857 as experienced by John W. Harrison.
- Mar. 30. Sketch of the life of Benjamin F. Blanton, Confederate veteran and editor.
- April 7. Sketch of the life of J. L. Wright, Confederate veteran, on 86th birthday. See also issue of April 9.
- Wallace Lilly, former slave, Union veteran, pioneer blacksmith.
- April 11. Indian relics found along White River by Ozark expedition from American Indian Museum.
- April 17. Sketch of the life of Bishop Tuttle.
- April 20. First 'phones in Columbia in 1895.
- April 25. Review of Possum Club banquet, 1909.
- May 19. Beginning of public schools in city in 1872.
- May 21. Todd House on West Broadway was built 100 years ago.
- June 2. Historical sketch of Ashland.
- June 9. Reminiscences of Rocheport.
- June 13. Incidents in Old Franklin. Taken from old newspaper files.
- June 16. Historic forts in Howard county.
- June 29. Hanging of John Brown, recalled by John W. Mattox, an eyewitness.

Buchanan County. *St. Joseph, Catholic Tribune.*

- June 2. History of St. Mary's College on 75th anniversary.
- Mar. 24. Sketch of the life of Bishop M. T. Burke. Also see other St. Joseph papers.

Observer.

- Jan. 20. History of Old Union Baptist church, Platte county.
- Feb. 24. Why the "boot" is on Missouri's "foot." Explanation of jog in southern boundary of the state.
- Mar. 17. Description of pioneer days, from a diary on the old Santa Fe Trail. Reprinted from the *Saturday Evening Post*.
- May 5. History of origin of the *Holt County Sentinel*.
- May 26. Extracts from the scrapbook of Governor Dockery.

Gazette.

- Jan. 4. River was highest here in April, 1881. Weather bureau statistics.
- Jan. 21. Old river boats in St. Joseph in 1853.
- Jan. 28. Christian Brothers College—a historical sketch.
- Spend \$200 a year for amusements. A description of St. Joseph in 1848.
- Feb. 11. History of old *Holt County Sentinel* at Oregon.
- May 6. Two homes of pioneer St. Joseph. Some facts about the Joseph Robidoux and other homes.
- May 13. Spanning the "great desert" of the West with pony express and stage coach, a pioneer achievement. By John J. Flinn. Reprinted from the *Christian Science Monitor*.
- Sketch of old Occidental Hotel built in 1849.
- May 16. May alter story of pony express. Some data on first rider. See also issues of May 30, June 8, 14.
- May 20. History of St. Joseph and Grand Island bridge completed in 1873.
- May 27. Sketch of Edgar House, 1845.
- June 17. Three negro slaves fondly recall "fo' de wah" days.

News-Press.

- Jan. 6. Sketch of the life of R. L. McDonald, pioneer business man.

- Feb. 3. Pony express days will be re-enacted. Historical sketch, with some experiences of an old rider.
- Feb. 14. St. Joseph in 1875. Some facts from old city directory.
- Mar. 3. Sketch of the life of John C. Hays, pony express rider.
- Mar. 4. Growth of St. Joseph, as told by Rev. C. M. Chilton, pastor of the First Christian church for 25 years.
- Mar. 10. St. Joseph in Civil War days. Data from *St. Joseph Morning Herald*, issue of November 1, 1862.
- Mar. 11. Gid Bostwick recalls narrow escape from Franklin brothers, bandits, in 1887. Reminiscences of Craig, Missouri, man.
- Mar. 12. Sketch of the life of A. M. Daugherty, Confederate veteran and former county official.
- Mar. 17. Sketch of the life of Bishop Maurice F. Burke of St. Joseph Diocese.
- Mar. 18. "Missouri River Pirate" printed first issue of Rock Port *Journal*. Sketch of the life of John D. Dopf. "Grandma" Brown of Rushville tells of pioneer hardships and early wars.
- Mar. 25. Sketch of old tavern near Corning, Missouri.
- Mar. 31. Sketch of Cosby Mill in Buchanan county, built in 1852.
- April 1. Old Riverside Hotel, Craig, Missouri. Sketch of the life of Charles N. Dobyns, publisher of *Corning Mirror*, pioneer printer.
- April 14. Sketch of the life of Enoc Craig, pioneer.
- May 5. Record of Ruralist Bicycle club of early '90's.
- May 16. Who was first rider? Pony express data. See also issues May 18, June 12, 13.
- May 22. Sketch of the life of Thomas W. Evans, Union veteran.
- May 23. History of Central High School.
- May 20. Folk started on road to fame here. Story of opening of gubernatorial campaign in 1904.
- June 2. Story of St. Joseph's first street car.
- June 23. Croy talks of novel. Homer Croy, Missouri author, tells how he wrote "West of the Water Tower."
- June 30. Sketch of historic home near St. Joseph, built in 1840.
- Butler County. Poplar Bluff, *Republican*.
- June 7. First marriage in Butler county. Record of 1866.
- Callaway County. Auxvasse, *Review*.
- Mar. 7. Sketch of Governor Gardner and his administration. Reprinted from Louisville, Kentucky, *Courier-Journal*. Continued in issues of March 14, 21, 28, April 4.
- April 11. First packing house west of Mississippi. Reprinted from *Kansas City Times*.
- Fulton, *Gazette*.
- Mar. 1. How the boot came in Missouri.
- Carroll County. Carrollton, *Democrat*.
- June 22. Early days in Missouri. Random recollections of Alvin Goodson, pioneer.
- Cass County. Harrisonville, *Cass County Democrat*.
- April 19. High school commencement, 1888. Pleasant Hill, *Times*.
- Jan. 26. Letter written from California in 1851 by late William E. Pierce, Pleasant Hill man.
- Feb. 23. Sketch of the life of D. H. Showalter, Confederate veteran.
- Mar. 2. Sketch of the life of Archie Davis Prather, pioneer. Why the boot of Missouri?

- Mar. 9. Sketch of the life of Burks Harris, pioneer.
Early days in the West as seen by Phelps' "Travelers Guide."
Reprinted from *Odessa Democrat*.
- Mar. 16. Sketch of the life of Samuel Boyer, Union veteran.
- Mar. 30. "Aunt Molly" Ross, "Shepherd of the Hills" character, dies.
Reprinted from *Branson White River Leader*.
Life of Charles H. Cates, Confederate veteran.
- April 13. Sketch of the life of Aubrey Ray Hildebrand, World War veteran.
- April 18. Sketch of the life of Stratton D. Brooks, native of Cass county.
- May 25. Blackwater South Methodist church reunion. Recalls early history of church.
- Cedar County. Stockton, *Cedar County Republican*.
- Jan. 11. Sketch of the life of Ward Hudson, Union veteran.
- Mar. 15. Old record of Cedar Baptist church in 1838. See also issue of March 22.
- June 21. Sketch of the life of John T. Fox, pioneer county official.
- Charlton County. Keytesville, *Charlton Courier*.
- Jan. 19. Sketch of the life of Lawrence V. Stephens, former governor of Missouri.
- Feb. 16. Sketch of the life of Francis Marion Cox, Confederate veteran.
- Mar. 2. Sketch of the life of George W. Cunningham, Union veteran and city official.
- Mar. 16. Sketch of the life of Dr. O. T. Morey, county coroner and World War veteran. See also *Salisbury Press-Spectator*, issue of March 9.
- May 11. Sketch of the life of Andrew McRoberts Child, one time editor in Richmond, Cowgill, Bosworth, Keytesville.
- June 29. Sketch of the life of Ashborn S. Taylor, pioneer and former county official.
First Boone county will made by Ira P. Nash, pioneer. Reprinted from *Kansas City Post*.
Salisbury, Press-Spectator.
- Feb. 9. Reminiscences of early days, by T. G. Dulaney, Confederate veteran. Reprinted from *Hannibal Courier-Post*.
- Mar. 23. Sketch of the life of W. R. Slaughter, Confederate veteran.
- April 5. Sketch of the life of William Dougan, World War veteran.
- June 22. Building of bridge at Glasgow. Recalls city's early history.
Reprinted from *Kansas City Star*.
- Christian County. Ozark, *Christian County Republican*.
- Jan. 12. Sketch of the life of Joseph R. Wade, Union veteran.
- Feb. 2. Sketch of the life of Roy King, World War veteran.
- Mar. 30. Sketch of the life of W. H. Burch, Union veteran.
- Clark County. Kahoka, *Clark County Courier*.
- Jan. 5. Clark County history, by Jasper Blines. See also *Gazette-Herald*, issue of January 5.
- Jan. 12. Sketch of the life of Frank M. Harr, county and state official.
- Feb. 2. Sketch of the life of John Martin, Union veteran and county official.
Sketch of the life of Marion N. Shanes, Union veteran. Reprinted from *Gorin Argus*.
Sketch of the life of Abner S. Hackney, Confederate veteran. Reprinted from *Unionville Republican*.
- Feb. 9. Sketch of the life of Royle John Craft, World War veteran.
Sketch of the life of Eli Dunham Gwyne, Confederate veteran.
- Feb. 16. Historical reprints of 1871, by Jasper Blines.
- Mar. 2. Sketch of the life of Isaac Rowe, Union veteran.

- Mar. 9. Razing of brick building built in 1873—an old landmark and once headquarters for Anti-Horse Thief Association.
- Mar. 23. Shelbina *Torchlight* sold. Also historical sketch.
Kahoka Baptist church's 50th anniversary. With some early history. See also *Gazette-Herald*.
- April 20. Early Clark county history, by Jasper Blines. See *Gazette-Herald*, issue of January 12.
- May 4. Sketch of the life of John Wesley Howell, Union veteran.
—, *Gazette-Herald*.
- Jan. 12. Sketch of the life of John Bradley Gray, Union veteran.
- Jan. 20. Clark county history. Some facts about geology of the county, by Jasper Blines. See also issue of February 9.
- Feb. 16. Peaceful Army of 1849, by Jasper Blines. See also later issues.
- June 1. History of 21st Missouri regiment, by Jasper Blines. See later issues.
- June 22. Three Chariton Valley battle anniversaries to be celebrated August, 1923. Reprinted from *Memphis Revereille*.
- Clay County. Liberty, *Tribune*.
- May 25. Some description of early day merchants.
—, *Smithville, Democrat-Herald*.
- May 25. Sketch of the life of James Donald Vance, World War veteran.
- Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of W. R. Million, former state officer.
- Clinton County. Lathrop, *Optimist*.
- April 28. Sketch of the life of William Milton Wilbait, Union veteran.
—, Sketch of the life of J. B. Norman, Union veteran.
—, *Plattsburg, Leader*.
- Feb. 9. Sketch of the life of John R. Lizar, Union veteran.
- Feb. 16. Sketch of the life of John Sinnet Young, Confederate veteran.
—, *Clinton County Democrat*.
- Mar. 16. Sketch of the life of Alfred Eaton, Confederate veteran. Reprinted from *Cameron Sun*.
- May 17. Sketch of the life of James Williams, pioneer Baptist preacher.
- Cole County. Jefferson City, *Cole County Rustler*.
- Jan. 5. Sketch of the life of Major John T. Clarke, Union veteran, state official.
- Mar. 16. Sketch of the life of Roscoe Kist, World War veteran.
—, *Missouri State Journal*.
- April 7. Pictures of four great Missourians in governor's reception room.
- April 14. Sketch of the life of Col. J. F. Edwards, Confederate veteran.
- June 2. Mexican War veterans. Reminiscences of Addison VanAusdol and William F. Buckner.
—, Sketch of the life of Hugh McIndoe, former state official.
- Cooper County. Boonville, *Advertiser*.
- Jan. 4. Sketch of the life of Robert S. Roe, county official.
—, Sketch of the life of former Governor Lon V. Stephens, Boonville resident.
- Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of Martin Luther Weekly, Union veteran.
- Mar. 9. Reminiscences of W. L. Nelson. Recollections of Champ Clark.
- Mar. 16. Sketch of the life of former Governor John Miller. Reprinted from *Kansas City Star*.
- Mar. 23. Sketch of the life of Dr. W. A. Roberts, pioneer physician.
- April 6. Sketch of the life of George W. Drennen, Union veteran.
- April 13. Sketch of the life of Mrs. Lucy Lindsey, Confederate nurse. Reprinted from *Kansas City Times*, issue of April 6.
- April 23. Reminiscences of early Missouri newspapers, by Mrs. T. A. Nelson, Sr.

- May 11. Sketch of the life of Samuel Cole, pioneer Boonville citizen.
Some interesting incidents.
Sketch of the life of Daniel Brubaker, Confederate veteran.
See also *Bunceton Eagle*, issue May 11.
- June 1. Origin and history of St. Joseph's Hospital at Boonville. See also later issues.
- June 15. Reminiscences of weddings 50 years ago, by Mrs. T. A. Nelson, Sr.
- June 22. The "Commons," historic stopping place for Santa Fe traders.
_____, *Central Missouri Republican*.
- May 3. Old Arrow Rock Tavern. Reprinted from *Kansas City Star*.
- May 10. Reminiscences of early days in Boonville, Franklin, by W. W. Tallafiero, a former citizen.
- June 28. History of *Central Missouri Republican*. Some facts recalled on 50th anniversary.
_____, *Weekly Eagle*.
- Jan. 5. Sketch of the life of Robert S. Roe, county official.
- April 20. Some early owners of the *Eagle*.
- June 22. June 17 was 62d anniversary of the battle of Boonville.
- Dade County. Greenfield, *Dade County Advocate*.
- Jan. 25. Sketch of the life of S. D. McMillan, state official.
- April 26. Sketch of the life of J. R. Jeffries, Confederate veteran.
_____, *Vedette*.
- Jan. 18. Sketch of the life of Orra Herman Devine, county official.
- May 3. Personnel of Company H, 5th Missouri regiment in Spanish-American war. Reprinted from *Vedette* file of 1898.
- June 14. Sketch of the life of Dr. W. J. Simmons, Civil War veteran.
Reprinted from *Springfield Republican*.
- June 21. Sketch of the life of John A. Kurtz, chairman of Public Service Commission.
- Dallas County. Buffalo, *Reflex*.
- June 7. Sketch of the life of J. K. Jones, Union veteran.
- Davless County. Gallatin, *Democrat*.
- Feb. 1. Sketch of the life of Frederick Snyder, Union veteran.
Sketch of the life of John S. Egbert, Spanish-American War veteran.
- Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of Judge William C. Gillihan, Union veteran.
See also *North Missourian*, issue of March 1.
Sketch of the life of Webster Davis, former mayor of Kansas City and government official. Reprinted from *Kansas City Post*. See *North Missourian*, issue of March 15.
Sketch of the life of Jesse James McCoy, Union veteran. See *North Missourian*, issue of February 15.
- Mar. 22. Sketch of the life of J. L. Davisson, former state official.
- May 17. Reminiscences of former Governor Dockery. An old Congressional autograph album found. See also *North Missourian*.
Other reminiscences in issue of June 14.
_____, *North Missourian*.
- Feb. 1. Reminiscences of Josiah Powell, pioneer editor of *North Missourian*. Reprinted from *Kansas City Journal*.
- June 21. Sketch of the life of Francis Lee Read, Civil War veteran.
Historical sketch of Etter's store, pioneer mercantile house.
_____, *Gem*.
- Feb. 8. Sketch of the life of David Kemp, Civil War veteran.
- June 7. Sketch of the life of John Thomas Wade, Union veteran.
See also *Bethany Republican*, issue of May 30.
_____, *Pattonsburg, Call*.

- June 7. Sketch of the life of Captain A. K. Moores, Union veteran and county official.
Jamesport, *Gazette*.
- April 5. Sketch of the life of Joseph Neal, Confederate veteran.
DeKalb County. Clarksdale, *Journal*.
- June 7. General W. Carrel, Union veteran.
Dunklin County. Campbell, *Citizen*.
- Mar. 9. Sketch of the life of Judge William C. Whiteaker, Confederate veteran.
- May 25. Sketch of the life of J. C. Summers, Union veteran.
Kennett, *Dunklin County Democrat*.
- Jan. 5. Sketch of the life of Alexander Hilton, vice-president of the Frisco railroad.
- Mar. 16. Reminiscences of Kennett, by I. L. White.
- June 22. Sketch of the life of France Varner, Buffalo Island's first citizen, by W. T. Buffaloe.
- Franklin County. New Haven, *Leader*.
- Feb. 22. Sketch of the life of Rev. W. E. Judy, Spanish-American War veteran.
- June 7. Sketch of the life of Joseph A. Mintrup, former editor of the *Franklin County Observer* and county official. Reprinted from the *Union Republican-Tribune*.
- Pacific, *Transcript*.
- April 20. Sketch of the life of Captain John T. Crowe, Union veteran, county and state official. See also *Union Republican-Tribune*, issue of April 20.
- June 27. Sketch of the life of Robert F. Ferrell, World War veteran.
Sullivan, *News*.
- Jan. 11. Sketch of the life of Major John T. Clarke, Union veteran and state official.
- Feb. 1. Sketch of the life of George Ennis Vaughn, Union veteran.
- Feb. 22. Sketch of the life of Carl E. Brandt, Union veteran.
- Mar. 29. Sketch of the life of James A. Woodruff, Union veteran.
Washington, *Franklin County Observer*.
- Mar. 23. Sketch of the life of Henry Giesike, Union veteran.
- June 22. History of Franklin county Agricultural and Mechanical Society, 1872 to 1923. See also *Citizen*, issue of January 12.
- Gasconade County. Bland, *Courier*.
- Feb. 9. Sketch of the life of F. A. Shockley, Civil War veteran.
- Feb. 16. Sketch of the life of W. J. Langendoefer, county official.
- Mar. 16. Historical sketch of Hermann *Volksblatt*. Reprinted from *Missouri Historical Review*. See issue of March 23; also *Hermann Advertiser-Courier*, issue of June 8.
Hermann, *Advertiser-Courier*.
- May 4. Sketch of the life of M. Grossmann, Union veteran.
Owensville, *Gasconade County Republican*.
- Mar. 23. Sketch of the life of Burgess A. Matthews, Union veteran.
- Gentry County. Albany, *Capital*.
- Jan. 25. Sketch of the life of Judge William Franklin Dalbey, county official. See also *Ledger*.
- Mar. 22. Sketch of the life of James H. Gillespie, Sr., county official.
- Mar. 29. Early history from old papers.
Ledger.
- Mar. 15. Reminiscences of pioneer life, by John Spessard.
Sketch of the life of Albert Richard McNamee, Civil War veteran.
- Mar. 22. Sketch of the life of J. D. Lyons, Union veteran.

- April 19. Sketch of the life of William B. Whiteley, Confederate veteran.
 June 7. Sketch of the life of Elder John D. McClure, pioneer preacher.
 King City, *Tri-County News*.
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- Mar. 30. Sketch of the life of James Donald Beck, World War veteran.
 May 18. Reminiscences of Mrs. Margaret Barker Durbin on 100th birthday anniversary.
 June 8. History of city water works. Old water hole hidden for 40 years now used.
 _____, *Chronicle*.
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- Feb. 23. Sketch of the life of Franklin P. Burke, Mexican War veteran.
 Stanberry, *Herald*.
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- April 12. Sketch of the life of Francis M. Shaw, Union veteran.
 Sketch of the life of Ves B. Coffey, World War veteran.
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- April 26. Sketch of the life of William Preston Starrett, Union veteran.
 Greene County. Ash Grove, *Commonwealth*.
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- Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of A. T. Weir, Confederate veteran.
 Republic, *Monitor*.
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- Feb. 8. Sketch of the life of James E. Decker, Union veteran.
 April 5. Sketch of the life of Jesse W. McDaniel, Union veteran.
 Springfield, *Leader*.
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- Jan. 3. January 8 recalls events of much local interest in connection with Civil War. Story of the Battle of Springfield.
 Jan. 6. Sketch of the life of J. B. White.
 Jan. 8. McCormack case recalls bits of Greene county history. Some famous criminal cases.
 Jan. 10. Sketch of the life of Lon V. Stephens, former governor of Missouri.
 Jan. 23. Springfield recalls hanging of Willis Washam on August 25, 1854.
 Feb. 12. James Dixon made remarkable rise in financial world. Sketch of former Springfield man who is now president of the Tobacco Products Company.
 Mar. 12. Fourteen mile Missouri railroad. Sketch of Ozark Southern, built 1907-10.
 April 11. Missouri is mother of husky men, Douglas says. Descriptive account of Missouri and her people, by A. W. Douglas, of U. S. Chamber of Commerce.
 May 7. Counterfeit coins once were good in Ozark county. Story of "Yoachum Dollar."
 May 12. Some Baptist history in Missouri.
 _____, *Republican*.
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- May 25. Dr. James Harwood, founder of Drury College, tells of school's history.
 May 27. Sketch of the life of Samuel Fletcher Drury.
 Grundy County. Spickard, *Grundy County Gazette*.
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- Jan. 4. Sketch of the life of Charles F. McLaughlin, Union veteran.
 Sketch of the life of Warren Graham, Union veteran.
 Jan. 15. Sketch of the life of James H. Crockett, Union veteran.
 Feb. 15. Sketch of the life of Daniel C. Vance, Civil War veteran.
 Feb. 22. Sketch of the life of George H. Combs, Union veteran and county official.
 Mar. 22. Sketch of the life of Andy Loe, Civil War veteran.
 April 5. Sketch of the life of Charles A. Loveland, Union veteran.
 April 19. Sketch of the life of John Lewis Barnes, Union veteran.
 Trenton, *Weekly Times*.
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- Feb. 1. Sketch of the life of Robert A. Gibson, Civil War veteran.
 Feb. 22. Sketch of the life of Philander Riley, Civil War veteran.

- April 12. Sketch of the life of Calvin Gilham, Union veteran.
 May 10. Reminiscences of Major John Hack, blockade runner during Civil War.
 June 7. City's old street car system recalled.

 _____, *Weekly Republican*.
 Mar. 15. *Republican*, one of the oldest papers to remain under the continuous management of a single family. Reprinted from *Missouri Historical Review*.
 May 10. Sketch of the life of William Eberle Austin, pioneer banker.
 May 31. War records of 37 charter members of G. A. R., Col. Jacob Smith Post, Number 72.
 June 28. Historic old school building razed. Once housed Avalon College, Ruskin College, and Trenton High School.
 Harrison County. *Bethany, Clipper*.
 Jan. 3. Short sketch of Bethany Methodist church history.
 Jan. 24. Sketch of the life of Frank T. Harvey, Union veteran. See also issue of February 7.
 Jan. 31. Sketch of the life of Alfred N. Cave, Union veteran. See also issue of February 14.
 Feb. 14. Sketch of the life of Joseph B. Phillebaum, Union veteran.
 Feb. 28. Sketch of the life of John A. Templeman, once editor of *Bethany Democrat*.
 April 25. Sketch of the life of John Barber, Union veteran and county official. See also issue of May 2.

 _____, *Republican*.
 Mar. 21. Sketch of the life of Jacob A. Miller, Union veteran.
 April 25. Sketch of the life of Roy Tripp, World War veteran.

 _____, *Ridgeway, Journal*.
 Jan. 4. Sketch of the life of George Washington Crosby, Union veteran.
 April 5. Sketch of the life of John E. Updyke, Union veteran.
 Henry County. *Clinton, Henry County Democrat*.
 Jan. 18. Sketch of the life of James W. Pickerill, county official.
 Feb. 22. Sketch of the life of Warren C. Bronaugh, Confederate veteran.
 April 26. Sketch of the life of Bertha Henrietta Peters, Civil War nurse.

 _____, *Eye*.
 Mar. 23. Sketch of the life of H. E. Moore, Union veteran.
 May 4. Sketch of the life of Wilbur S. McCarty, World War veteran.

 _____, *Montrose, Tidings*.
 Jan. 18. Sketch of the life of Orra H. Divine, county official.
 Feb. 22. History of Montrose, by seniors of high school.
 May 3. Johnstown in 1859. Facts taken from old book of laws and ordinances. Reprinted from the *Butler Times*.

 _____, *Windsor, Review*.
 Feb. 8. Historical sketch of the *Review*.
 Mar. 15. Sketch of the life of "Uncle Bobbie" Morris, Confederate veteran, on his 100th birthday anniversary. Reprinted from *Harrisonville Democrat*.
 Mar. 29. Sketch of the life of James Milton Kelley, Civil War veteran.
 Sketch of the life of Christopher C. Deakins, Union veteran.
 May 24. How Johnstown (Bates county) got its name—some of its early ordinances.
 June 7. Sketch of the life of George J. Shelton, Confederate veteran.
 Hickory County. *Hermitage, Index*.
 Mar. 15. Sketch of the life of William M. B. Pitts, Union veteran.
 April 5. Sketch of the life of James M. Lindsey, Civil War veteran.
 Sketch of the life of John H. Toague, Civil War veteran.

- May 14. Sketch of the life of Judge William Montgomery, county official, pioneer.
- Holt County. Craig, *Leader*.
- Mar. 16. G. G. Bostwick recalls early day fight with "Franklin Gang." Reprinted from *St. Joseph Gazette*, issue of March 11. Mound City, *Journal*.
- June 7. Sketch of the life of Francis E. Scott, World War veteran. See also *News-Jeffersonian*, issue of June 8. Oregon, *Holt County Sentinel*.
- Feb. 9. Sketch of the life of Hiram Hershberger, part owner of Mound City *News*, 1885-1886.
- Mar. 2. Sketch of Holt County Circuit Court. Some important cases and officials. See also issue of March 16.
- Mar. 23. History of county collector's office.
- Mar. 30. Sketch of the life of John S. Smith, pioneer banker.
- April 13. Sketch of the Battle of Shiloh, with list of survivors.
- April 20. Sketch of the life of Mrs. Jane Dupre-Gleen on 106th birthday anniversary.
- Sketch of the life of Harry Edwards, World War veteran.
- April 27. Historical sketch of the *Sentinel* on its 58th anniversary. Reminiscences of the flood of April 27, 1881, and also of 1915. Birthday recollections of James Franklin Bridgmon, pioneer.
- May 18. Sketch of the *St. Joseph Gazette*.
- May 25. Sketch of the life of John H. Lynda, pioneer river captain and prominent figure in the early development of Fortescue.
- June 1. Sketch of the life of Captain Thomas W. Evans, *St. Joseph* banker and Union veteran.
- June 29. Slavery days as recalled by Tom Sharp, once a slave. Reprinted from *St. Joseph Gazette*, issue of June 17.
- Sketch of the life of Martin Lewis Ebert, Confederate veteran.
- Howard County. Fayette, *Advertiser*.
- Jan. 4. Sketch of the life of James Lewis Heberling, Confederate veteran.
- Feb. 1. Sketch of the life of John A. Walden, state official and Confederate veteran.
- Mar. 8. Sketch of the life of William Jones, Confederate veteran. See also *Democrat-Leader*, issue March 8. Sketch of the life of Samuel Major Gardenhire. Reprinted from *Advertiser*, issue of April 7, 1921.
- April 5. Some history of the *Advertiser*.
- May 10. Sketch of the life of Joseph Megraw, pioneer. See also *Democrat-Leader*, issue of May 3.
- June 21. How Missouri got her name. *Democrat-Leader*.
- May 10. Early day tragedy recalled by discovery of skeleton at Rochesport. New Franklin, *News*.
- June 22. Some early history of Old Franklin.
- Howell County. West Plains, *Howell County Gazette*.
- Jan. 4. Sketch of the life of James H. Granville, Union veteran.
- Jan. 18. Reminiscences of old Union camp at West Plains by W. L. Emily of Wisconsin.
- Mar. 15. Sketch of the life of Col. W. W. Caffee, Spanish-American War veteran.
- April 5. Sketch of the life of Riley Compton, Union veteran and Ozark county pioneer.
- April 12. Sketch of the life of Robert Burr, Confederate veteran.

- April 26. Sketch of the life of Wallace Mahan, pioneer. Also interesting facts about Slater mine.
Sketch of the life of N. Bodine, Union veteran.
- May 24. Sketch of the life of D. L. Feters, Union veteran.
Iron County. Ironton, *Iron County Register*.
- April 5. Sketch of the life of Oscar W. Roap, Confederate veteran.
Jackson County. Blue Springs, *Sni-a-Bar Voice*.
- Mar. 23. Sketch of the life of Thomas W. Records, Blue Springs, pioneer.
Independence, *Jackson Examiner*.
- Feb. 2. Sketch of the life of Joseph T. Noland, Confederate veteran.
- April 13. Sketch of the life of Col. William H. Woodson, county official and Confederate veteran.
- June 15. Sketch of the life of Henry T. Crump, a descendant of Daniel Boone.
Kansas City, *Journal*.
- Jan. 6. Sketch of the life of J. B. White, Kansas City lumberman.
Reprinted from the *Kansas City Times*, issue of January 6.
- Feb. 22. Natal day for City of Kansas. Historical facts regarding incorporation.
- May 29. Sketch of the life of Joseph W. Folk. See other newspapers of same date.
- May 30. Sketch of the life of T. J. Hedrick, state grain warehouse commissioner.
- June 4. Pioneer recalls *Journal* of 1866.
Journal-Post.
- Jan. 7. Sketch of Missouri State Historical Society.
- Jan. 14. Crossing the plains with a pioneer Kansas Citian.
- Jan. 28. Acquisition of water plant—Kansas City's first venture in owning public utilities.
Reminiscences of a Kansas City "Gallery God."
- Feb. 11. Lincoln's speaking tour through Kansas and Missouri. Recollections of only man alive who heard Lincoln deliver his famous "Lost Speech."
Kansas Citians whose lives touched Lincoln's.
- Feb. 18. When Kansas City street cars followed mules. With photos.
- Mar. 11. Worth \$10 then; worth \$250,000 now. Comparison of land values in 1836 and in 1923.
Old timers recount tales of school days at Macon County Teachers' Association.
A fourteen mile Missouri railroad. Story of the Ozark Southern from Mansfield to Ava.
- Mar. 18. State churches here in April. Some historical data on Missouri Disciples of Christ.
- April 8. Recalls days when West was young. Some bandit stories.
- May 20. Historical sketch of Kansas City Athletic Club.
- June 3. Kansas City, exclusive trade center of southwest. Some statistical records of progress.
- June 17. How Kansas City welcomed presidents. Story of visits of Cleveland, Harrison, Roosevelt and Wilson.
Post.
- Feb. 7. The men who built Uncle Sam's mail business in Kansas City.
- Feb. 28. Old and new. Some random recollections of early days in Kansas City by old settlers.
- Mar. 3. Old and new. Story of the first Priest of Pallas fete in 1887.
- Mar. 10. He knew the James boys. Some recollections of Mr. Moffat.
- Mar. 14. Mrs. E. R. Weeks has memories of the first high school in Kansas City.

- Mar. 17. Old timers tell Indian stories and recall early days of Kansas City.
- Mar. 24. Indians, buffalo and rivers kept old U. P. behind schedule. Recollections of early railroad days.
- Mar. 28. Veteran of "Merimac" tells of big fight with the "Monitor." Story as told by Captain Henry Marmaduke of Washington, N. C., who was born in Saline county, Missouri.
- Mar. 31. Quantrell officer tells of Lawrence raid. Recollections of William H. Gregg.
- April 2. Old time battlefield near church site. Some facts concerning Battle of Glen Betsy during the Civil War.
- April 4. Some recollections of Kansas City history "not in books."
- April 15. Survey of the accomplishments of the Constitutional Convention, by Dr. Isidor Loeb.
- May 2. Mrs. Bass tells of the Battle of Independence.
Star.
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- Jan. 4. Recalls "L" road history. Judge Hoag of Joplin tells some history of the elevated road between the two Kansas Cities.
- Jan. 10. Sketch of the life of Lon V. Stephens, former governor of the state. See other newspapers of same date.
- Jan. 28. A man any town could be proud of, J. C. Penney.
In memory of one faithful unto death. The story of Dr. Asa McReynolds of Harrisonville, Missouri, by Frank H. Brooks.
The mill that waits for the miller. Sketch of Watkins Mill at Excelsior Springs.
A Kansas City merchant for more than a half of century, H. H. Shepard.
- Feb. 14. Why "boot" of Missouri? An account of how the jog in southern boundary of the state came about.
- Feb. 22. Kansas City is 70 years old today. Some historical facts.
- Feb. 25. A "Mark Twain" portrait. The story of a sketch by Carroll Beckwith.
- Mar. 4. How Jim cheated the great Kansas City cyclone. A story of 1886.
- Mar. 11. What every Kansas Cityan should know. Some facts of city's history.
The pony express will run again. With historical sketch.
- Mar. 27. When the "Campbellites" first came to Missouri.
- Mar. 31. Missouri, butt of joker and "Mother of States." Reprinted from *National Geographic Magazine*.
- April 1. The Oklahoma romance of General Sam Houston.
When I met Thomas H. Benton. Reminiscences of Mrs. E. J. Collins.
- April 13. The map of one man's life. How Hon. William R. Nelson made good on the ideals expressed in the first issue of the *Star*.
- April 15. Sketches of Kansas City as it was in 1887. From drawings in Frank Leslie's *Illustrated Newspaper*.
- April 21. The 25th anniversary of the Spanish-American War.
- May 9. The Baptist church in Missouri and Kansas City.
- May 10. Sketch of the life of John M. Egan, former president of Metropolitan Street Railway Company.
- May 13. Meeting the new president of the University of Missouri.
Sketch of Dr. Stratton D. Brooks.
A pioneer of the old trail. Sketch of the life of Ezra Meeker and some interesting notes on the Oregon Trail.
- May 31. Sketch of the life of Frank F. Rozzelle.
- June 2. When the flood came to Kansas City 20 years ago.

- June 4. Land erosion an age-long habit of the Big Muddy.
 June 6. Mark Twain and the speech that fell flat.
 June 17. As Thomas wrote it in '88. Account of President Cleveland's visit to Kansas City in 1888, by Augustus Thomas. Reprinted from *Kansas City Times*.
 Central Missouri spans the river to admit prosperity. Story of Glasgow and Boonville bridges.
 _____, *Times*.
 Mar. 15. Early day photographs of scenes in Kansas City.
 June 18. Sketch of the life of John A. Kurtz, chairman of state Public Service Commission.
 Teaches knack for news. Historical sketch of the University of Missouri School of Journalism.
 _____, *Lees Summit, Journal*.
 Mar. 22. Sketch of the life of Presley M. Payton, Union veteran.
 Jasper County. Carl Junction, *Standard*.
 June 8. Sketch of the life of Luke Lea, Union veteran.
 Carthage, *Jasper County Democrat*.
 Mar. 13. Sketch of the life of Col. William Caffee, Spanish-American War veteran.
 April 20. Sketch of the life of John Sheldon Brown, Union veteran.
 April 27. Sketch of the life of Judge Malcolm G. McGregor, county and state official.
 May 25. Sketch of the life of Patrick F. Gill, state officer and member of Congress.
 May 29. Sketch of the life of Peter Wakefield, Union veteran.
 June 1. Sketch of the life of Hugh McIndoe, state official.
 Jefferson County. Crystal City, *Press*.
 May 24. Sketch of the life of James L. Donnell, county official.
 DeSoto, *Jefferson County Republican*.
 Jan. 4. Sketch of the life of William O. Robinson, Union veteran.
 Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of Christopher Ruppel, Union veteran.
 Hillsboro, *Jefferson County Record*.
 Feb. 22. Sketch of the life of William E. Judy, Spanish-American War veteran.
 May 10. History of St. John's Lutheran church at Beck, Missouri.
 Johnson County. Holden, *Progress*.
 Jan. 15. History of Kingsville Christian church.
 Jan. 25. Sketch of the life of Alexander Donan Gowans, Civil War veteran. See also Warrensburg *Star-Journal*.
 Feb. 1. Sketch of the life of Harrison Braught, Union veteran.
 Mar. 8. Sketch of the life of Richard McNeal Kellison, Civil War veteran.
 Mar. 15. Razing an old landmark, "The Old Red Store," in Kingsville.
 Mar. 29. Sketch of the life of James Bennett, Union veteran.
 April 5. Sketch of the life of Daniel C. Baldwin, Union veteran.
 April 12. Early days of Rose Hill, by O. G. Boisseau.
 May 17. Sketch of the life of William Harrison Mayo, Union veteran.
 Brief sketch of Lexington, Missouri.
 June 7. Sketch of the life of Pleasant Russell Ferguson, Confederate veteran.
 June 21. Sketch of the life of J. J. Healer, Union veteran.
 _____, *Knobnoster, Gem*.
 Jan. 11. Reminiscences of Knobnoster, by A. M. Craig. See later issues.
 May 17. Sketch of the life of Daniel D. Williams, Confederate veteran.
 See also Warrensburg *Weekly Standard-Herald*, issue of May 18.

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- Warrensburg, *Weekly Standard-Herald*.
- Jan. 20. Sketch of the life of Judge R. H. Wood, Confederate veteran.
- Feb. 2. Sketch of the life of Major James M. Hubbard, Union and Mexican War veteran. Included in obituary of his daughter.
- Feb. 9. Sketch of the life of J. A. Drummond, Civil War veteran. See also *Star-Journal*, issue of February 6.
- May 18. Correction of recent historical article on Holden with additions.
- May 25. Sketch of the life of Franklin P. Riddle, Union veteran.
- June 8. Sketch of the life of John Graham Scroggs, Union veteran.
- June 29. Historical sketch of Blackwater Methodist church. *Star-Journal*.
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- Jan. 5. Sketch of the life of H. E. Vitt, Warrensburg manufacturer.
- Mar. 6. Sketch of the life of Isaac Theron Ball, Union veteran.
- April 3. Sketch of the life of Charles Jerome Matthews, Union veteran.
- April 24. Sketch of the life of Jacob Ayres, Union veteran.
- Knox County. Edina, *Sentinel*.
- Jan. 11. Sketch of the life of W. R. Rhoades, Union veteran.
- Mar. 8. Reminiscences of Sam Callaway on 83rd birthday anniversary. See also *Democrat*, issue of April 5.
- April 5. Sketch of the life of George P. Keith, Union veteran.
- April 12. Sketch of the life of William D. Edwards, Union veteran. See also *Democrat*, issue of April 12.
- May 10. Sketch of the life of J. T. Lockett, former county official.
- May 31. Sketch of the life of Thomas B. Bowen, Union veteran. Reprinted from the *LaPlata Republican*.
- June 21. Sketch of the life of J. R. Donaldson, Confederate veteran. Sketch of the life of James Horace Wamsley, Union veteran.
- Laclede County. Lebanon, *Twice-A-Week Rustic*.
- Jan. 5. Sketch of the life of N. S. B. Craig, Civil War veteran.
- Feb. 20. Judge J. P. Nixon, presiding judge of the Springfield Appellate Court. See *Laclede Republican*.
- Laclede County. —, *Laclede County Republican*.
- May 25. Sketch of the life of William Wester, county officer. See also issue of June 8.
- June 8. Sketch of the life of Eliasha Enox, Union veteran.
- Lafayette County. Corder, *Journal*.
- Mar. 2. Sketch of the life of John Henry Moore, Confederate veteran. Reprinted from the *Kansas City Star*.
- Mar. 2. Sketch of the life of John L. Reddick, Confederate veteran. Higginsville, *Advancer*.
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- Mar. 16. Sketches of Milton Corder Hubbard, William Evans, Richard Pickett, J. W. Caldwell, and John W. Cayton, Confederate veterans.
- June 29. Sketch of the life of Frank Moritz, Confederate veteran. *Jeffersonian*.
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- Feb. 5. Sketch of the life of Richard Lee Haggard, World War veteran.
- Mar. 19. Sketch of the life of S. P. McDonald, Confederate veteran.
- Mar. 22. Sketch of the life of Robert Perry Handley, Confederate veteran.
- April 23. Some history of Higginsville. Reprinted from history made in 1890, by W. S. Dornblaser. See also later issues.
- May 8. Sketch of the life of Major George W. Lankford, Confederate veteran. Lexington, *News*.
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- Feb. 12. Sketch of the life of Judge Zack W. Wright, county official.
- June 1. Sketch of Beattie Drummond, formerly editor of *Wellington Qui Vive*; *Odesa Moon*, *Ledger*; *Lexington News*. See also issue of June 8.

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- Odessa, *Missouri Ledger*.
- Mar. 30. History of Mt. Hebron Missionary Society.
- June 15. Sketch of the life of John H. Sheppard, Confederate veteran.
- June 23. Sketch of the life of Thomas G. Gibbs, Confederate veteran.
See *Democrat*, issue of June 22.
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- Democrat*.
- Feb. 16. Henry Harrison Cheatham, Confederate veteran.
- Lawrence County. Aurora, *Advertiser*.
- Feb. 1. Sketch of the life of Allen R. McNatt, Union veteran and county official.
- Mar. 29. Sketch of the life of DeKalb Bowles, Union veteran.
- April 12. Sketch of the life of Carr McNatt, pioneer Aurora citizen.
- April 26. "Old Matt," J. K. Ross, prepared to go to California. Reprinted from the *Springfield Leader*.
- May 16. Sketch of the life of William Hardy Coleman, Union veteran and county official. See also Mt. Vernon *Lawrence Chieftain*.
- May 24. Sketch of the life of William S. Kelly, Union veteran.
- June 21. Founding of Joplin. A historical sketch.
Marionville, *Free Press*.
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- Jan. 11. Sketch of Joshua F. Parks, Civil war veteran.
- June 7. Sketch of the life of Rev. W. J. Simmons, Union veteran.
Miller, *News-Herald*.
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- Mar. 29. Sketch of the life of John Casteel, Union veteran.
- April 4. Sketch of the life of James L. Powell, Union veteran.
- May 3. Sketch of the life of Andrew Jackson Trimble, Union veteran.
- Lewis County. LaBelle, *Star*.
- Feb. 23. Brief sketch of a few old Missouri towns. Reprinted from the *Macon Herald*.
- April 6. The five oldest family newspapers in Missouri. Reprinted from the *Missouri Historical Review*.
- April 20. First citizen of LaBelle, Isaac Allen, dies.
LaGrange, *Indicator*.
-
- Feb. 1. Old days in LaGrange. Reprinted from *Democrat*, issue of November 7, 1879, and from *Herald-Democrat*, issue of December 2, 1892.
- Mar. 15. Seventy-seven years of newspaper history.
- April 5. Sketch of the life of Henry Gaus, Union veteran.
- April 19. Sketch of the life of James H. Butler, Union veteran.
- Lincoln County. Elsberry, *Democrat*.
- Feb. 9. Sketch of the life of William Nofflett Norris, Union veteran.
- Mar. 2. Sketch of the life of J. Frank Rinaman, county official.
- Mar. 23. Sketch of the life of Benjamin F. Brookshier, Civil War veteran.
W. C. Sleet, Civil War veteran.
- May 4. Sketch of the life of Howard Parker, Spanish-American War veteran, World War veteran.
- June 15. Sketch of the life of George C. Elliott, Union veteran.
Silex, *Index*.
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- Jan. 25. Historical sketch of Millwood. Reprinted from *St. Louis Star*, issue of January 21.
Troy, *Free Press*.
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- Jan. 19. Sketch of Farmers and Mechanics Savings Bank of Troy.
- Mar. 23. Short historical sketch of *Free Press*. Reprinted from *St. Louis Star*.
- Linn County. Brookfield, *Gazette*.
- Mar. 30. Sketch of the life of Francis Marion Baker, Civil War veteran.
- April 27. Sketch of the life of Luther Frederick Hunt, Union veteran.

- Browning, *Leader-Record*.
- April 12. Sketch of the life of John Marcus Buswell, World War veteran.
- May 3. Sketch of the life of Benjamin Franklin Rulon, Civil War veteran. See also *Brookfield Gazette*, issue of April 27.
- June 28. Sketch of the life of James Lewis Roach, Confederate veteran. Laclede, *Blade*.
- Mar. 23. Sketch of the life of Bert E. Shirey, Spanish-American War veteran.
- April 13. Sketch of the life of Emerson C. Wright, Union veteran.
- April 27. Sketch of the life of Samuel M. Wroe, Civil War veteran.
- May 11. History of Laclede High School, by Merle and Berle Pearce. Linneus, *Bulletin*.
- Jan. 11. Sketch of the life of A. S. Hackney, Confederate veteran. See also *Linn County News*, issue of January 12.
- Mar. 15. Sketch of the life of James B. Williams, Union veteran. *Linn County News*.
- Mar. 2. Specifications of first county court house.
- Mar. 9. Sketch of the life of James B. Williams, Union veteran. Marceline, *Herald*.
- Jan. 19. Sketch of the life of John R. Wrenn, Marceline pioneer.
- June 15. Sketch of the life of Foster Simpkins, Confederate veteran. Livingston County. Chillicothe, *Weekly Constitution*.
- Jan. 25. Reminiscences of Josiah Y. Powell, on 61st wedding anniversary.
- Feb. 1. Sketch of the life of James E. Watkins, editor of the *Constitution*.
- Feb. 15. Sketch of the life of T. S. Bishop, Civil War veteran. Sketch of the life of Mark White, county official. Pineville, *Herald*.
- June 15. True bits of Ozark history, by Emma Chenoworth Price. McDonald County. Southwest City, *Republic*.
- April 13. Sketch of the life of S. F. Hauser, county official. Macon County. Atlanta, *Express*.
- Jan. 5. Sketch of the life of Edward C. Shain, Union veteran and county official.
- Mar. 9. Sketch of the life of George George, Union veteran.
- Mar. 23. Short sketch of John L. Brahan, pioneer. LaPlata, *Home Press*.
- Jan. 11. Sketch of the life of Henry O. Clark, Union veteran.
- April 28. Sketch of the life of S. L. Gash, county official. *Republican*.
- May 25. Sketch of the life of Thomas B. Bowen, Union veteran.
- June 8. Sketch of the life of Edward Enterline, Union veteran.
- June 22. Sketch of the life of Charles Mackey, Civil War veteran. Macon, *Daily Chronicle*.
- Mar. 24. Recollections of Mark Twain in Keokuk and Hannibal. *Republican*.
- Feb. 20. Sketch of the life of Major S. G. Brock, Union veteran and founder of the *Republican*.
- Mar. 20. Death of John F. L. Branham, pioneer and founder of the Century Club.
- April 3. Sketch of the life of B. F. Blanton, former editor of *Paris Appeal*. See also *Paris Appeal*.
- April 13. Macon of 1865. Some historical notes.
- June 26. Sketch of the life of John Scovern, pioneer banker and former editor of the *True Flag* and *North Missouri Register*.

- June 29. Sketch of the life of Henry Twiehaus, Union veteran. See also *Warrenton Banner*.
- Madison County. *Fredericktown, Democrat-News*.
- Jan. 18. Big Creek as it was 50 years ago, by H. A. Hovis.
- Feb. 15. Sketch of the life of Judge J. M. Ross, Civil War veteran and county official.
- Mar. 29. Old landmarks of the county. An account of three houses.
- April 12. Sketch of the life of James Casteel, Union veteran.
- Maries County. *Vienna, Home Adviser*.
- Jan. 4. Sketch of the life of William B. Ellis, county official.
- Mar. 22. First electric lights in St. Louis. Reprinted from *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.
- Marion County. *Palmyra, Marion County Herald*.
- Feb. 7. Reminiscences of Civil War times, by J. W. Proctor.
- Feb. 21. Sketch of the life of Glenn Dillinger, World War veteran. Reminiscences of Old Marion City, from letter of William Muldrow to Major Moses D. Bates, of St. Charles, dated December 26, 1835.
- Feb. 28. Brief sketch of Webster Davis, former Kansas City mayor and government official.
- Mar. 14. Sale of Bates farm recalls days when Moses D. Bates, Sr., settled in Missouri.
- May 1. Old landmark torn down. Building erected in 1847.
- June 12. Days of daring on the Santa Fe Trail, by Joseph Hergesheimer. Reprinted from the *Saturday Evening Post*.
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- Feb. 14. Brief sketch of church history in Monroe City. Reprinted from *Monroe City News*.
- April 4. Five oldest family newspapers in Missouri. Reprinted from the *Missouri Historical Review*.
- April 18. Early days on old Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad. Reprinted from Eugene Field in the *Chicago Daily News*, 1888.
- April 25. Sketch of the life of Captain J. W. Ayres, Union veteran.
- May 17. The hanging of John Brown, as told by Bill McCause, an eye-witness.
- Mercer County. *Eldon, Advertiser*.
- Jan. 18. Sketch of the life of John Wilson, after whom Wilson Cave is named. Recollections of 66 years ago.
- Feb. 15. Sketch of the life of Judge James M. Baker, county and state official. See also *Tusculum Autogram*, issue of February 15. *Princeton, Post*.
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- Jan. 3. Sketch of the life of J. S. Perkins, Union veteran.
- Jan. 10. Sketch of the life of William L. Griffith, Union veteran. See also *Telegraph*, issue of January 10.
- Feb. 21. Sketch of the life of George H. Combs, Union veteran.
- Mar. 21. Sketch of the life of Andrew J. Loe, Union veteran.
- April 25. Sketch of the life of Jacob E. Eldson, Union veteran.
- May 23. Sketch of the life of William M. French, Union veteran.
- June 20. Sketch of the life of Jackson Cook, Union veteran.
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- Telegraph.
- Jan. 10. Sketch of the life of William A. Hollingworth, Union veteran.
- April 4. Sketch of the life of Charles A. Loveland, Union veteran.
- April 11. Brief sketch of the *Telegraph* on its 51st anniversary.
- April 18. Ravanna 50 years ago. Reprinted from *Advance*, issue of June 26, 1873.
- Moniteau County. *California, Democrat*.
- Mar. 8. Sketch of the life of Marion Redford, Confederate veteran.

- April 12. Jamestown incorporated 50 years ago.
Tipton, *Times*.
- Jan. 5. Sketch of the life of James Monroe Norris, Civil War veteran.
Feb. 9. Swimming in Brush Creek in 1836, by W. H. Chick. Reprinted from Missouri Valley Historical Society publication.
- April 6. Sketch of the life of Philip Dexheimer, Civil War veteran.
See Clarksburg *Banner-Sentinel*.
- June 29. Sketch of the life of William Robert Kay, Confederate veteran.
Monroe County. Madison, *Times*.
- Jan. 11. Sketch of the life of James L. Carter, World War veteran.
June 21. Sketch of the life of Reuben W. Miles, Union veteran.
Monroe City, *Semi-Weekly News*.
- Feb. 9. First church in Monroe county was St. Jude's, 1866.
April 6. Sketch of the life of Clifton Craft, World War veteran.
April 10. J. M. Hurley recalls overland trip to California 60 years ago.
June 5. Monroe countian one of two surviving Mexican War veterans in Missouri. Sketch of the life of William Buckner.
June 8. Reminiscences of Civil War incidents, by J. B. Hays.
June 20. Early church history of Stoutsville Old School Baptists.
Paris, *Mercury*.
- Feb. 9. Sketch of the life of Thomas Dulaney, Confederate veteran.
Mar. 9. Muddy roads in Missouri in 1847. Reprinted from "The Followers of Duden," by William Bok, in the *Missouri Historical Review*.
- Mar. 30. Benjamin F. Blanton, editor of *Monroe County Appeal*. How he joined expedition against John Brown.
Sketch of the life of John Glascock, county official. See also *Appeal*, issue of March 30.
- April 20. When the "Campbellites" came to Missouri. See also *Appeal*, issue of April 6.
- June 15. A second district story, by U. S. Hall. Reprinted from the *Columbia Missourian*.
Monroe County *Appeal*.
- Jan. 5. Sketch of the life of John C. Combs, Confederate veteran.
Mar. 16. Native Missourian living in Washington (State). Henry H. Marmaduke only surviving officer of the "Merrimac."
June 15. Sketch of Florida, Missouri, 50 years ago.
June 22. Recollections of how a Civil War fight near Florida was averted, by Brach Pollard.
- Montgomery County. Montgomery City, *Standard*.
- Feb. 23. Sketch of the life of Larkin Thompson, Confederate veteran.
Mar. 2. Pioneer Montgomery families. Reprinted from "Pioneer Families of Missouri."
- May 11. Sketch of the life of Anthony Horton, Confederate veteran.
- Morgan County. Versailles, *Leader*.
- Jan. 5. Sketch of the life of Daniel Shofner, Union veteran.
Jan. 12. Sketch of the life of Lucius G. Ross, World War veteran. See also issue of January 26; also *Statesman*, issue of January 11.
- Feb. 23. Sketch of the life of Daniel E. Wray, county official.
Mar. 2. Sketch of the life of Judge James P. Nixon, state official. Reprinted from *Linn Creek Revue*.
- Mar. 9. The oldest newspaper in the state. Reprinted from the *Missouri Historical Review*.
Statesman.
- Feb. 22. Sketch of the life of James H. H. Baker, Union veteran.
- New Madrid County. New Madrid, *Weekly Record*.
- Jan. 26. Sketch of the life of George Washington Shirkey, Union veteran.

Newton County. Neosho, *Miner and Mechanic*.

- April 27. Sketch of the life of Judge M. G. McGregor, state official.
 May 4. Sketch of the life of W. O. Moore, county official.
 May 18. Sketch of the life of John W. Byrd, county official.
 June 15. Sketch of the life of John Polk McHaffie, county official.

Times.

- Jan. 11. Sketch of the life of Charles E. Stader, Union veteran.
 Mar. 29. Sketch of the life of Jacob W. Lane, county official.
 April 19. Sketch of the life of Horace M. Garner, World War veteran.
 May 3. Sketch of the life of William H. Leib, Civil War veteran. Reprinted from the Joplin *Globe*.

Nodaway County. Hopkins, *Journal*.

- Jan. 4. Reminiscences of Civil War days. Reprinted from Newton Wray in the Maryville *Democrat-Forum*.

- Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of W. C. Morehouse, county official.
 April 26. Sketch of the life of George H. Dooley, Union veteran.
 June 7. Presbyterian church established here 1873.

Maryville, *Democrat-Forum*.

- Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of William J. Skidmore, one of the founders of the Skidmore *Standard*. See also Skidmore *News*, issue of March 1.

Ravenwood, *Gazette*.

- April 26. Sketch of the life of James Riley Miller, Union veteran. Skidmore, *News*.

- June 21. Sketch of the life of Z. H. Horn, World War veteran.

Oregon County. Alton, *South Missourian-Democrat*.

- Feb. 1. Historical sketch of the *Missourian-Democrat*. Paper 52 years old. See also issue of February 15.

- Mar. 15. Sketch of the life of J. Posey Millsap, county official. Thayer, *News*.

- June 22. Sketch of the life of Jesse Essary, World War veteran.

Osage County. Linn, *Unterrified Democrat*.

- Jan. 4. Sketch of the life of Henry Cramer, county official.

- Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of John Ruettgers, Union veteran.

Pemiscot County. Caruthersville, *Democrat-Argus*.

- Feb. 27. Sketch of the life of John Barnard, county official. Hayti, *Missouri Herald*.

- Jan. 12. Sketch of the life of Dr. B. D. Crowe, county official.

Perry County. Perryville, *Perry County Republican*.

- Jan. 25. Sketch of the life of Michael Fassold, Union veteran.

- Feb. 1. Sketch of the life of Andrew Balsman, Union veteran.

- Feb. 22. Sketch of the life of John Dietrich, Union veteran.

- April 12. Sketch of the life of Alexander Shoults, Union veteran.

Pettis County. Lamonte, *Record*.

- Mar. 23. Sketch of the life of J. A. Williams, former editor of the Houstonia *Spectator*.

- April 27. Sketch of the life of Dr. T. P. McCluney, Civil War veteran.

- May 25. Some history of the Lamonte Methodist Church. See also later issues.

Phelps County. Rolla, *Herald*.

- Mar. 8. Sketch of the life of Millard Filmore Faulkner, county official.

- April 26. Sketch of the life of Judge Daniel Donahoe, county official. See also *New Era*, issue of April 27.

Times.

- Jan. 4. Sketch of the life of William R. Ellis, county official.

- Feb. 18. Some history of Phelps county, written by Dr. J. S. Frost for *Eagle* of 1896. See also later issues.

Pike County. Bowling Green, *Times*.

- Jan. 11. The first Missouri schoolmaster, by I. Walter Bayse.
 Feb. 1. Across Missouri on foot in 1719, by I. Walter Bayse.
 Feb. 22. Sketch of the life of John Tumilty, Civil War veteran.
 Mar. 8. Some early history of Clarksville, by I. Walter Bayse.
 Mar. 22. Sketch of the life of John Thomas Hetherlin, Union veteran.
 See also *Louisiana Times*, issue of March 20.
 May 31. Sketch of the life of Stephen Franklin Jett, Confederate veteran.
 Louisiana, Journal.
 Jan. 9. Mrs. Bettie Glover Mackey, county official.
 Feb. 16. Sketch of the life of Harry Blackmore, World War veteran.
 See also *Louisiana Times*, issue of February 16.
 June 15. Sketch of the life of Edward Peers Johnson, state and federal
 official.
 June 26. Short sketch of the life of Thomas H. Harris, Confederate
 veteran.

_____, *Twice-a-Week Times*.

- Mar. 20. Sketch of the life of Richard Maxfield, Union veteran.
 April 24. Sketch of the life of Thomas E. Marsh, Confederate veteran.
 June 29. Sketch of the life of Joshua Haley, Union veteran.
 Platte County. Platte City, *Platte County Argus*.
 Mar. 8. Sketch of the life of J. M. McMonigle, county and state of-
 ficial.

Polk County. Bolivar, *Herald*.

- Jan. 11. Elbert Nugent, Union veteran. A life sketch.
 Mar. 22. Sketch of the life of John Hope, Union veteran. See also
 Free-Press, issue of April 5.
 May 10. Sketch of the life of James H. Eidson, Union veteran. See also
 Free-Press, issue of May 17.
 May 31. Sketch of the life of Rev. James Madison Looney, Union
 veteran. See also *Free-Press*, issue of June 7.

_____, *Free-Press*.

- Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of Mrs. Martha J. Gravely, widow of colonel
 in Union Army and Lieutenant-Governor of Missouri.
 Mar. 15. Sketch of the life of Dr. Charles C. Simmons, World War
 veteran.
 May 17. Sketch of the life of Dr. A. P. Mitchell, county official.
 Fairplay, Advocate.
 Mar. 8. Sketch of the life of Jesse Eugene Hackett, World War veteran.
 Humansville, Star-Leader.
 April 12. Sketch of the life of Sheridan W. Wombles, World War veteran.
 May 24. Sketch of the life of Thomas Henry Wilkerson, Union veteran.
 June 7. Short historical sketch of *Star-Leader* on 47th anniversary.

Pulaski County. Dixon, *Pilot*.

- Feb. 16. Sketch of the life of George Frank Light, World War veteran.
 Richland, Mirror.
 Mar. 8. Sketch of the life of Major Sidney G. Brock, federal official
 and founder of the *Macon Republican*.

Putnam County. Unionville, *Putnam County Journal*.

- Jan. 12. Sketch of the life of Abner Sullens Hackney, Confederate vet-
 eran. See also *Republican*, issue of January 17.
 Feb. 16. Sketch of the life of P. Boyd Green, county official. See also
 Republican, issues of February 14, 21.
 Mar. 2. Sketch of the life of Thomas W. Huston, Union veteran. See
 also *Republican*, issue of February 28.
 Mar. 9. Sketch of the life of W. H. Walker, Union veteran. See also
 Republican, issue of March 7.

- June 22. Sketch of the life of David Minear, Union veteran.
 _____, *Republican*.
- Jan. 17. Sketch of the life of Sterling K. Mills, Union veteran.
 May 9. Sketch of the life of Charles W. Mullenix, county official.
 Ralls County. Center, *Herald*.
- Feb. 1. Sketch of the life of Peter Babb, Civil War veteran. See also
 _____, *Perry Enterprise*, issue of February 1.
 _____, *New London, Ralls County Record*.
- Feb. 23. Sketch of the life of William Henry Story, Union veteran.
 April 13. When the "Campbellites" came to Missouri.
 Randolph County. Huntsville, *Herald*.
- Jan. 12. Early days in Randolph county. Reprinted from "History of
 Northeast Missouri," by Walter Williams.
 Brief history of Huntsville.
 Brief history of Huntsville *Herald*.
- June 29. Sketch of the life of Ira P. Nash, first settler in Boone county.
 Reprinted from *Kansas City Journal-Post*, issue of June 24.
 Moberly, *Weekly Monitor*.
- Jan. 25. Brief sketch of the life of John Perry Grimes, Confederate
 veteran.
- Ray County. Richmond, *Conservator*.
- Feb. 1. Sketch of the life of Henry J. Hamil, state official.
 April 26. Sketch of the life of A. M. Child, former editor of the *Con-
 servator*.
- May 3. Sketch of the life of Major G. F. Langford, Confederate veteran.
 June 7. Sketch of the life of Rector S. Bogle, former publisher of the
 Richmond *Democrat*. See also *Missourian*, issue of June 7.
 _____, *Missourian*.
- Mar. 8. Sketch of the life of Joshua Smart, Union veteran.
 April 26. Brief sketch of the *Democrat*.
- Reynolds County. Ellington, *Press*.
- Jan. 25. Sketch of the life of Thomas Andrew Johnson, county official.
 June 7. Sketch of the life of Walter Stuart, World War veteran.
- Ripley County. Doniphan, *Republican*.
- May 31. Sketch of the life of Frank J. Page, Union veteran.
 St. Charles County. St. Charles, *Cosmos-Monitor*.
- Feb. 28. Sketch of the life of Henry H. Bruns, county official. See also
 _____, *Banner-News*, issue of March 1.
- Mar. 7. Sketch of the life of Joseph T. Wents, World War veteran, U. S.
 Navy.
 _____, *Banner-News*.
- Feb. 15. Old document thought to have been written by William Van
 Burkleo tells of early day adventures in St. Charles county.
 Reprinted in full.
- Feb. 22. R. J. Atterbury recalls many facts which corroborate old docu-
 ment.
- Mar. 15. Sketch of the life of Francis Louis Fluesmeier, Confederate
 veteran.
- May 3. Sketch of the life of Brice Edwards, county official.
 June 21. Sketch of the life of Charles Nagel, Union veteran.
 Wentzville, *Union*.
- Feb. 2. Sketch of the life of William M. Allen, founder of Wentzville.
 Reprinted from St. Charles *Banner-News*.
- Feb. 9. Sketch of the life of Robert Harleigh Blackwell, county official.
 May 25. Sketch of the life of Rudolph Wilmer, Spanish-American War
 veteran.
- June 29. Brief notes on Thomas H. Harris, Confederate veteran.

St. Clair County. Appleton City, *Journal*.

- Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of William B. Rayburn, Union veteran. See also Bates county papers.

- Mar. 23. Sketch of the life of William Adams, Union veteran.
Lowry City, *Independent*.

- Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of John Wiley Land, Union veteran.

- Mar. 8. Sketch of the life of John Alexander Robinson, Union veteran.
Osceola, *St. Clair County Democrat*.

- Mar. 15. Sketch of the life of Gardner G. Barker, Union veteran.

- April 12. Sketch of the life of Sheridan W. Wombles, World War veteran.
St. Clair County *Republican*.

- Feb. 15. Sketch of the life of Ed N. Orr, county official.

St. Francois County. Farmington, *News*.

- Jan. 19. Sketch of the life of Jesse R. Pratt, Confederate veteran.

- Feb. 2. Sketch of the life of Judge John Marshall, county official.

- April 6. Sketch of the life of Dr. Walter H. Schroeder, World War veteran. See also *Times*, issue of April 6.

- April 20. Age of Silver Dam, from letter by E. S. Lett.
Times.

- June 8. Sketch of the life of Judge Jeff D. Mitchell, county official.
Flat River, *Lead Belt News*.

- Mar. 16. Sketch of the life of J. S. Holmes, Union veteran. See also Farmington *News*.

- Mar. 23. Sketch of the life of Luther K. Peers, Confederate veteran and county official.

Ste. Genevieve County. Ste. Genevieve, *Fair Play*.

- Mar. 31. Sketch of the life of Anton Samson, county official. See also *Herald*, issue of March 26.

St. Louis City. *Globe-Democrat*.

- Jan. 26. Bishop Daniel Tuttle to celebrate 86th anniversary today. Some description of life and experiences of early western days.

- Mar. 11. What electricity has done for St. Louis. An historical sketch. First electric street car in St. Louis. Some statistics concerning development.

- Mar. 27. Sketch of the life of William H. Miller, Union veteran.
Romance of the west revealed in documents. Extracts from records relating to Lewis and Clark expedition.
Sketch of Flat River Junior College.

- May 21. Sketch of the life of Patrick F. Gill, former congressman. Jesuits celebrate centennial of their coming to St. Louis. Some data.

- Know St. Louis.

- April 1. The St. Louis of today, yesterday, and tomorrow, by Sylvester Soulard. See preceding and succeeding issues.

- May 27. The 100th anniversary of the Jesuits' coming to St. Louis.
Post-Dispatch.

- Jan. 10. Sketch of the life of Philip F. Coghlan, veteran printer, past commander Missouri G. A. R.

- Feb. 28. Nugent's to celebrate 50th anniversary. History of department store.

- Mar. 11. St. Louis saw first electric light in 1878.

- April 18. Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle, head of Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Missouri. Some history of his work. See other daily papers of same date.

- April 29. Famous pony express to flash along its old 2,000 mile route. With historical sketch.

- May 26. Sketch of the life of William C. Stelgers, business manager of the *Post-Dispatch*.
- May 27. Sidney street church 60 years old. Sketch of Presbyterian church. See also *Globe-Democrat*, issue of May 28.
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- Jan. 7. Senator Reed is viewed pungently by author of "Mirrors of Washington."
- Mar. 11. How volunteer firemen fought cholera and great St. Louis fire in 1849.
Baptist history in St. Louis, told by Rev. Dr. Ewing.
- Mar. 25. Jefferson Barracks cemetery grave stones date from 1827, recalling names long famous in history.
One of Missouri's oldest toll roads will be abolished. Historical sketch of Columbia-Ashland road.
- April 8. Revival of pony express. With historical sketch.
Girl's story tells of early city and state history. Adventures of Laclede and Chouteau recounted in essay.
- April 15. St. Louis Municipal Opera grew from program in 1914 to only project of its kind in the country.
- St. Louis County. Carondelet, *News*.
- Jan. 5. The city hall of 1860. See "When Carondelet was a city" in later issues.
- Feb. 9. Recounts visit of Charles Dickens to Carondelet. Reprinted from *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 1842.
- May 4. St. Paul's Episcopal Church. Some early history.
- May 18. History of the property upon which Seventh Church of Christ, Scientist, is located.
- May 25. History of the Blow Public School, oldest in Carondelet, established 1866.
Clayton, *St. Louis County Leader*.
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- Feb. 23. Sketch of the life of William T. Bender, Confederate veteran and county official. See also *Watchman-Advocate*, issue of February 23.
- May 11. Sketch of the life of Peter Bopp, Civil War veteran. See also *Watchman-Advocate*, issue of May 8.
St. Louis County *Sentinel*.
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- Jan. 5. Sketch of the life of Adam Diech, Union veteran.
Watchman-Advocate.
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- Feb. 9. Sketch of the life of Jacob Eschenbrenner, Union veteran.
- Feb. 16. Sketch of the life of Isaac Randolph, Civil War veteran.
- May 4. Sketch of the life of August Baumbach, Sr., Union veteran.
- May 8. History of St. John Evangelical Church.
- May 25. Sketch of the life of E. C. Robbins, Confederate veteran.
- June 5. Sketch of the life of Henry Kesseling, Union veteran.
- Saline County. Marshall, *Weekly Democrat-News*.
- Jan. 11. Sketch of the life of William B. Dick, Confederate veteran.
- Jan. 18. Sketch of the life of Jacques Harvey, county official.
(See also Slater *Rustler*, January 12.)
- April 5. Sketch of the life of Col. John B. Breathetts, Civil War veteran.
See Kansas City papers of March 3.
- April 12. Sketch of the life of Col. William H. Woodson, Confederate veteran.
- May 3. Sketch of the life of Major George Langford, Confederate veteran.
- June 14. Sketch of the life of James Robert Marshall, Confederate veteran.
Slater, *Rustler*.

- Feb. 16. Sketch of the life of Warren Carter Bronaugh, Confederate veteran.
- Mar. 2. Old story of how Missouri kept the "boot."
- April 27. Brief sketch of Gilliam's past.
- June 1. Sketch of the life of William B. Mullins, Civil War veteran. Spelling matches 50 years ago.
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- Sweet Springs, *Herald*.
- Feb. 2. Sketch of the life of Richard Lee Haggard, World War veteran.
- May 4. Sketch of the life of Father Thees Alpers, Saline county pioneer.
- Schuyler County. Lancaster, *Excelsior*.
- June 28. Sketch of the life of John Scovern, Civil War veteran. Sketch of the life of Green Lewis, Civil War veteran.
- Scotland County. Memphis, *Reveille*.
- Jan. 4. Sketch of the life of Frank M. Harr, former state legislator. See also *Democrat*, issue of January 4.
- Jan. 18. Expert views Iowa-Missouri boundary line. Reprinted from Keokuk, (Iowa), *Daily Gate City*.
- Feb. 1. Sketch of the life of Judge E. E. Schofield. See also *Democrat*, issue of February 1; Lancaster *Excelsior*, issue of February 1.
- Feb. 8. Sketch of the life of J. C. McClure, Union veteran.
- Feb. 22. Sketch of the life of Major S. G. Brock, Civil War veteran.
- Mar. 8. Sketch of the life of Jesse Stice, Civil War veteran. See also *Democrat*, issue of March 8. Last of old pre-Civil War landmarks. Reprinted from Kahoka *Courier*.
- Mar. 19. Alexandria once a rival of St. Louis and Chicago. Some interesting facts about an old river market.
- May 31. Retirement of Dr. John Priest Green from 30 years presidency of William Jewell College and an account of his administration. Brief reminiscences of B. R. Grinstead, Union veteran, who guarded Jefferson Davis as a prisoner.
- June 14. Sketch of the life of B. J. Frogge, World War veteran. Three anniversaries of Chariton valley battles in August. Sketches of the Battles of Athens, Monroe City and Kirksville, during Civil War.
- June 21. Sketch of the life of J. R. Donaldson, Confederate veteran. See *Democrat*, issue of June 21. Sketch of the life of Melvin C. Jones, World War veteran.
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- , *Democrat*.
- Jan. 18. The location of the first postoffice in Memphis.
- Feb. 22. Historical sketch of Memphis in the '50's.
- Scott County. Benton, *Scott County Democrat*.
- Feb. 8. Sketch of the life of W. W. Robertson, Civil War veteran. Sikeston, *Herald*.
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- May 3. Pioneer merchandising. A historical paper concerning Sikeston. See also *Dexter Statesman*, issue of May 11.
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- , *Standard*.
- Mar. 30. Sketch of the life of B. F. Blanton, former editor of *Monroe County Appeal*.
- Shannon County. Eminence, *Current Ware*.
- Jan. 11. Sketch of the life of J. B. White, pioneer lumberman of Kansas City.
- May 31. Sketch of the life of H. C. McIndoe, state official. Reprinted from the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*.
- Shelby County. Clarence, *Courier*.

- Jan. 10. Sketch of the life of Edward C. Shain, Civil War veteran and county official.
- Mar. 7. History of the Missouri hog. A sketch of the beginnings of pork industry, meat inspection, and packing houses in Missouri. Reprinted from university bulletin by John Ashton. *Shelbina, Democrat*.
- Jan. 3. Sketch of the life of John C. Obms, Confederate veteran. See also *Torchlight*, issue of January 3.
Sketch of the life of Earl F. Clapper, World War veteran. See also *Torchlight*, issue of January 5.
- Jan. 10. Memories of Shelby county 65 years ago, by a Civil War veteran.
- April 11. Sketch of the life of Judge Charles H. Myers, county official.
- May 23. Sketch of the life of Edward Carmichael, Confederate veteran.
- Stoddard County. Bernie, *Newsboy*.
- June 21. Dexter will be 50 years old July 4. Reprinted from *Dexter Statesman*.
Bloomfield, Stoddard Tribune.
- Jan. 4. Sketch of the life of Henderson Story, Civil War veteran. See also *Vindicator*, issue of January 5.
- April 26. Sketch of the life of Alexander Douglas, Civil War veteran.
Vindicator.
- Mar. 16. Sketch of the life of Judge John G. Wear, Confederate veteran and county official. See also *Bernie Newsboy*, issue of March 8.
- Sullivan County. *Greencastle, Journal*.
- Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of William W. Shepard, Civil War veteran.
Green City, Press.
- Mar. 22. Sketch of the life of Joseph M. Struby, Civil War veteran. See also issue of March 29.
Milan, Standard.
- Feb. 22. Sketch of the life of Glen Dillinger, World War veteran. See also *Milan Republican*, issues of February 15, '22.
- Mar. 29. Sketch of the life of James K. Reger, Civil War veteran. See also issue of April 5; *Republican*, issue of March 29.
- April 12. Sketch of the life of Simon P. Ford, Union veteran. See also *Republican*, issue of April 12.
Republican.
- May 3. Early recollections of L. M. Baldridge. Reprinted from issue of March 30, 1905.
- Taney County. *Forsyth, Taney County Republican*.
- June 14. Sketch of the life of W. Andrew Wood, World War veteran.
- Texas County. *Houston, Herald*.
- Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of George W. Ramsey, Civil War veteran. See also *Republican*, issue of March 1.
- April 19. Sketch of the life of Judge E. H. Wheeler, Confederate veteran and county official.
- April 26. Roster of Texas countyans in Spanish-American War.
- May 3. Sketch of the life of Naphali Bodine, Civil War veteran. Reprinted from *West Plains, Quill*.
- June 7. Sketch of the life of B. F. Wells, Confederate veteran.
- June 14. Sketch of the life of J. Warner Murray, Civil War veteran. See also *Republican*, issue of June 14.
- June 21. Some Texas county history. The beginnings of the Christian Church in Missouri and Texas county.
- Vernon County. *Nevada, Southwest Mail and Weekly Post*.

- Feb. 23. Sketch of the life of W. C. Bronaugh, Civil War veteran. Reprinted from the *Kansas City Times*.
- Mar. 2. Sketch of the life of Jesse Steele, Union veteran.
- Mar. 16. Sketch of the life of Col. W. K. Caffee, commander of 2nd Regiment, Missouri National Guards, during Spanish-American War.
- June 1. Sketch of the life of H. C. McIndoe, state official.
- Warren County. Warrenton, *Banner*.
- Jan. 19. Sketch of the life of August Grotewohl, Union veteran.
- Jan. 26. Sketch of the life of Nathaniel Anson, Union veteran.
- April 6. Sketch of the life of Diederick R. Schroer, state official.
- April 20. Sketch of the life of Col. James Franklin Edwards, Confederate veteran and veteran of Indian campaigns.
- Wayne County. Greenville, *Sun*.
- Mar. 22. Sketch of the life of Cebber Houseman, World War veteran.
- May 17. Sketch of the life of Alfred Crites, Union veteran.
- Piedmont, *Wayne County Journal and Piedmont Weekly Banner*.
- Mar. 22. Some early history of Wayne county. See also issue of March 29.
- Worth County. Grant City, *Worth County Tribune*.
- Mar. 7. Sketch of the life of Omer V. Duckworth, World War veteran, U. S. Navy.
- April 11. Sketch of the life of Thomas D. McQuigg, Civil War veteran.
- May 2. Sketch of the life of James Riley Miller, Union veteran.
- May 9. Sketch of the life of John S. Dehart, Civil War veteran.
- Wright County. Hartville, *Democrat*.
- Feb. 22. Sketch of James Boyer, Union veteran. See also *Wright County Republican*.
- Mountain Grove, *Journal*.
- Feb. 1. Sketch of the life of Samuel L. Russell, Union veteran.
- Mar. 29. Sketch of the life of Albert T. Fengler, Union veteran.
- April 26. Sketch of the life of Judge E. H. Wheeler, Confederate veteran.

